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November 1, 1983

This afternoon at exactly 1:55 p.m. a squad of 15 Federal Marshals arrested me at my house because I said I have a tape that reveals how the FBI framed John DeLorean. Even though I am confined to a wheelchair, I was subjected to this paramilitary operation. Jack Anderson has the same tape that I say I have, but no marshals were sent to surround his house and then drag him off to court.

It is no accident that my arrest comes at a time when I am launching this premier issue of *The Rebel*. The government, in particular the Reagan administration, is determined to stifle any independent voice, like this magazine, that is dedicated to exposing the lies that are the working tools of big government and big business.

Whether the subject is the secret little murderous wars being hatched in the Pentagon or CIA headquarters, or the government frame-ups of those who speak out, or the cozy relationship between the mob and groups of elected officials, or the multi-million dollar rip-offs and fraud perpetrated against the American people, *The Rebel* will be relentless in exposing the real facts.

While the so-called legitimate media continue to collaborate with government and business instead of exposing criminal practices, this magazine remains committed to the principle that this country belongs to the people, not to crooks, elected or not.

Our competitors are *Time* and *Newsweek*. Both these magazines refused to run my ads this month on the untold story behind the shooting down of the KAL 007 flight, as well as my ads for our own *Los Angeles Free Press* issue exposing the CIA and FBI coverup of the JFK assassination. *Time* and *Newsweek* are part of a media establishment that is a tout sheet for the intelligence community. I can promise you that *The Rebel* will not be part of this kept press.

These are difficult moments for the country. The B-actor who occupies the White House has his troops in a half dozen countries around the world. The CIA and the FBI have been unleashed. Our right to speak is being taken away from us at an increasing rate. And the Actor now wants another four years of power. What better reasons to begin publishing *The Rebel*? And let me assure you that no amount of jailings, marshals, grand juries or threats is going to block this project. I hope you will enjoy this new publication and I hope that, together, we can take back this country from the white-collar criminals who now have the keys.

Larry Flynt

Editor and Publisher

The Rebel

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The Rebel

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 1

The Nazi Connection to the Assassination of John F. Kennedy

By Mae Brussell

Evidence of links between Nazis still in operation after World War II to the still-unsolved murder of John F. Kennedy 22

A Question of Treason

By Donald Freed

How Ronald Reagan sabotaged Jimmy Carter's Iranian hostage rescue mission. The Iranians knew we were coming. A member of Reagan's CIA spy team told them. An excerpt from the forthcoming book, *The Secret Life of Ronald Reagan* 52

The Murder of Mary Pinchot Meyer

By Timothy Leary

Socialite, mistress of JFK, wife of CIA official, Ben Bradlee's tenant and sister-in-law, and victim of a terrible conspiracy 44

Rebel

November 22, 1983

Film
Under Fire • Daniel — 6

Books
Make Believe: The Story of Ronald and Nancy Reagan • A Day of Life • Monimbó, — 10

Rebel Roundup
Late news from the political/criminal world-at-large — 16

Rebel News
Deported Salvadorans Face Death • Long Island Nuclear Dangers • Moonies Move Into South America — 18

Disappearing Witnesses
By Penn Jones Jr.
The unexplained deaths of those who saw JFK shot. — 36

The James Watt Legacy
By Tom Turner
The enemy of the landscape is gone; his policies remain. — 50

The White House War Against Martin Luther King
By Jeff Cohen
The White House, the CIA and the Justice Department conducted a full-scale campaign to discredit and destroy the country's foremost civil rights leader. — 62

Deadly Deceits
By Ralph McGehee
Excerpts from the book, by a disgusted former CIA agent who argues that it is time to terminate The Company, with prejudice. — 66

Death Row: An Interview with Scott Barnes
An ex-CIA contract officer says he was ordered to shoot first and ask no questions later. — 68

CIA Terrorists
By John Cummings
How the agency creates and sanctions international terrorism. — 70

The Black Hebrew Criminal Organization
By Don Ray
Self-proclaimed "chosen people," who turn out to be clerical-collar criminals. — 74

A Mid-East Primer
By Stanley Reed
Know the players as the deadly game continues. — 78

CIA and DEA Betray Iranian Collaborator
By Joe Trento
An Iranian whistle-blower gets burned in a multi-million-dollar heroin deal. — 82

Stolen Iranian Billions in U.S. Banks
By Ed Rasen
When the Ayatollah took over, it wasn't only the Shah that flew out of Iran, it was most of the gold in the national treasury. — 84

Georgia-Pacific vs. The Redwoods
By David Cross
A small band of determined citizens face down the company bulldozers. — 86

The Mob Is Philadelphia
By Murray Waas
In the city of Brotherly Love, it's hard to tell the Mafia from the cops. — 90

FILMS

UNDER FIRE

Directed by Roger Spottiswoode. Starring Nick Nolte, Gene Hackman, Joanna Cassidy, Jean-Louis Trintignant, and Ed Harris. Orion Films.

It is strange. While actor Ronald Reagan directs invasions around the Caribbean, genuine insights into all those dark revolutions south of the border are coming out of Hollywood. Roger Spottiswoode's *"Under Fire"* is one of those occasional films which tumbles off the Hollywood assembly line to provide us with a quick look at these foreign adventures through a new lens; one which brings the war home for closer scrutiny. Traditionally our movie industry has always been eager to prove its jingoist mettle in times of war. You might remember the mucho macho flag waver *"The Green Berets"* with John Wayne; remarkable as the only movie about Vietnam that Hollywood produced during the fifteen year war in Southeast Asia.

"Under Fire" is a brilliant, high-powered movie about American—the press corps rather than the marine corps—involvement in another Third World war; a fictionalized account of the last days of the Sandinista revolution against Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua. As you remember, that war ended so badly for the dictator that our president has arranged a re-match.

The movie's success is partly due to the casting of Nick Nolte, who turned in his usual flak jacket role for the safari suit of war photo-journalist and bang-bang junky, Russell Price. Gene Hackman is also just right as Alex, an aging *Time* magazine correspondent suffering from the terminal anxiety of a used car salesman who's sold one too many lemons.

At the center of the team is Claire (Joanna Cassidy), a journalist of indeterminate medium, whose naive sensitivity to the revolution exploding in the rubble-strewn streets around them ("You're gonna love this war" she tells Price upon his arrival. "It's got good guys, bad guys and cheap shrimp.") causes the Ugly Americans to enter the equally threatening and murky battle zones of commitment and ideology.

"Under Fire" promotes itself as a statement on the press coverage of these wars, "where the truth is the first casualty." True to reality, these correspondents are not so much journalists as fact and image gatherers. When Price asks Claire what's going on in Nicaragua, she goes back fifty years to explain the origins of the fighting. "I don't mean the peasant stuff," Price interrupts impatiently. "Give me the real stuff." Drugs, women, cheap shrimp—the sustenance of the bored press corps. However, there are inklings of new surroundings. Claire warns at one point: "The world isn't divided into East and West anymore. It's divided into North and South."

The mess which the journalists get into as they pursue their scoop—a meeting with the elusive Sandinista jefé, Rafael—does indeed entail some pretty extensive tinkering with the truth. Price fakes a photo which, we are supposed to believe, will make or break the revolution. What is important here is not the photo, which supplies the plot of the movie, but the changes Price slowly undergoes which lead him to the decision to "get involved." Otherwise, the shaky plot simply allows Spottiswoode to get into other issues of greater interest.

As a war film, *"Under Fire"* provides the prerequisite high testosterone blend of intrigue, heroism, comraderie, barbarity, and love under fire. (Spottiswoode is a protege of Sm Peckinpaw so it is not surprising that the love story is stillborn and the violence is superb.) We are overwhelmed with its relentless view of the bloody, devastating war against Somoza; wars which continue throughout today's Central America.

The grinding war of attrition between Somoza and his people, has attracted others: the decadent, deadly French security chief, Jazy (Jean-Louis Trintignant) who, like the journalists, wants to locate Rafael, the top Sandinista. Thanks to Price's photos, Rafael has become "more popular than Farrah Fawcett" back home. Jazy, the cool exterminator, working in the name of Western civilization, uses the journalists' quest for the big story to track down Rafael. "I love you people but you are sentimental shits," he tells Price and Claire. "You fall in love with poets; the poets fall in love with the Marxists, and we end up with tyrants." But Jazy is sophisticated enough to have his doubts about the side he has chosen to defend. "In 20 years, we'll know who was right."

And there is Oates (Ed Harris) the lean, mean, American mercenary who, like Price the photographer, comes from a war in Africa in pursuit of employment, and blood and guts. Like Price, who says things like "I don't take sides, I take pictures," Oates thinks of himself as neutral, his talents as a soldier of fortune available to the highest bidders, inevitably the dictators.

After a fierce fire fight between the Sandinistas and the army, Price finds Oates unwounded among the dead soldiers. "What the fuck are you doing here?", asks Oates from under the bodies. "What the fuck are *you* doing here?" retorts Price, the answers obvious to them both. Price doesn't warn the rebels about Oates who proceeds to vengefully shoot an unsuspecting Sandinista in the back; the first death in the movie which is moving. "I don't want to interfere," Price explains afterwards. "I think I made the wrong decision." Though the two men take opposite sides, and through their decisions are responsible for more deaths, there is a bond between them, forged in mutual cynicism, which prevents them from battling each other; from bearing witness against each other. In the end, they know they will be working together again, if not side by side, in yet another war.

As with Oates, the mercenary character, Spottiswoode does not overdo Somoza as tempting as that must have been. The dictator (René Enriquez, best known from *Hill Street Blues)* comes across smaller than life, a callow back-slapping, knee-grabber whose jealous attachment for his mistress rivals his hold on power.

Somehow Spottiswoode has managed to produce a strong "political" film with *"Under Fire,"* avoiding the ideological meltdowns which usually reduce such efforts to muddles of ambiguity and confusion. He has kept the movie fast paced and stripped down. Its screenplay (Ron Shelton and Clayton Frohman) and photography (John Alcott) lend it considerable complexity and subtlety, somehow avoiding the something for everyone which producers believe is the key to commericial success.

"Under Fire" joins the ranks of movies like Costa Gavras's *"Missing,"* going one better by transcending that film's exclusive American focus by providing us with some information about Central America as well. It succeeds at capturing the edgy, menacing atmosphere of other war correspondent films like *"Circle of Deceit"* and *"Year of Living Dangerously"* without losing the point in the aimless existential angst which ultimately wrecks those movies. It's tendency towards romanticism aside, *"Under Fire"* succeeds at bringing a little of the war home where it belongs.

Reviewed by Paul Heath Hoeffel.

Nick Nolte and Joanna Cassidy as reporters caught in the Nicaraguan Revolution.

Photo by Bruce McBroom

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FILMS

DANIEL

Based on the 1971 novel "The Book of Daniel" by E. L. Doctorow who also wrote the script for the film, directed by Sidney Lumet. With Timothy Hutton as Daniel, Amanda Plummer as his sister, and Mandy Patinkin and Lindsay Crouse as Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, known in this film as Paul and Rochelle Isaacson. Ed Asner plays the fictional couple's lawyer. Distributor, Paramount.

You are awakened early in the morning by the national political police. Your home is violated, your family is terrorized, and you are soon to become "Exhibit A" in a show trial that even the conservatives will recognize as a travesty of justice and a mockery of judicial procedure.

During the long months of prison, you continue to have hope for your country; faith in its people. Even after your wife is arrested on the same flimsy charges they are trying to stick on you, you continue to believe, to hope. Your children, handed from this one to that one, are objects of fear and suspicion or the recipients of cold charity; you don't know which is worse.

Finally, you are led into a room where you, and after you your wife, end your lives in a chair which is, in fact, an instrument of torture. Are you in medieval Spain, in Stalin's Russia, in Uganda under Amin? No. It is the United States in the grip of the Cold War. The year is 1953.

What is it like to have the FBI in your life?

What happens to the children of a couple executed for treason?

How does it feel to be electrocuted?

These are some of the things you will learn when you see Sidney Lumet's "Daniel," a film based on the judicial murder of alleged Communist spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Lumet is among Hollywood's foremost political directors. From "Twelve Angry Men" through "The Verdict," he has done more than thirty films. Most of them deal with political dissidence, police harrassment and the undemocratic procedures that can happen in an American courtroom. Lumet returns to these questions in "Daniel," which tells the story of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg's children after one of them dies and the other embarks on the trail to discover the truth about his parents. The strange thing about this film, however, is that the director, and the author/screenwriter, E. L. Doctorow, ("Ragtime," "Loon Lake") continue to insist that it is not a movie about politics, only about people.

Daniel is a young man in the troubled era of the 1960s. Unlike his younger sister and many other young people of the times, he is alienated by the anti-establishment politics and outlaw hedonism of the day. No wonder, since his parents were executed in a particularly unpleasant way because of their association with a "cause," and Daniel and his sister became the objects of fear and loathing by the press and then of adulation and pity by the faithful masses of the Communist Party. Lumet and Doctorow are on record as saying that the ultimate truth as to whether or not Julius and Ethel were actually spies for the Soviet Union is not "important" for the work of art they wanted to create. Their Daniel is some one who buried himself alive with his parents and then spent the rest of his life trying to climb out of the grave. Thus Daniel (Timothy Hutton) is jarred out of his apolitical stance by the madness and then suicide of his sister, and then begins a quest to find out the truth about what really happened to his parents. Were they actually spies? Did their friends stand up for them as they endured their final ordeal? Could they have been falsely accused and left to take the rap for someone else? Did the Communist Party of the United States give its all to defend them? The cinematic Daniel is out for the truth. The problem with the film is that its creators believe that the "truth" is unimportant to the story.

Daniel begins his search into the past by attempting to get the truth from everyone who had been close to his parents in the moments of their arrest and trial. He meets evasion and hostility from every side. But he discovers that the simple and comforting myth that his parents were merely the scapegoats of a frightened nation and the victims of a vicious secret police has a far more sinister reality behind it. It begins to appear that there may have been a tiny wisp of truth in the tangled yarns spun by the FBI and wrapped around his parents in that biased courtroom from which they were sent to their deaths. There may have been a Judas in this story of political expediency and double martyrdom. After he begins to put the story together for himself, Daniel hitch-hikes to California to confront the man he believes betrayed his parents. Selig, a dentist who had been a friendly uncle figure in Daniel's childhood, was the man who turned state's evidence and fingered his parents for the FBI and the prosecution. Instead of Selig, Daniel faces his daughter, one of his childhood friends, in her office. Now *she* is the dentist, and at first she declines to reveal the whereabouts of her father. After a tense and angry scene, she relents and Daniel hurries to a retirement home to confront the traitor. What happens next is anti-climax. The Judas, Selig, is gone and in his place sits a vacuous old man far gone in senility. Now Daniel, and we, the audience, will never know the "truth."

And this is precisely where Lumet and Doctorow leave the matter. Why? We have followed every twist and turn of Daniel's development. We have been part of his quest. We too felt the pain as his parents met their death, and now we want to know: Were they unjustly executed or not? Were these simple rank and file members of the Communist Party really part of a Soviet spy ring? Was their capture and conviction really the triumph of counter-espionage that the FBI would have us believe? Either the American secret service took two innocents and led them to the electric chair, or they did not. Either the trial of the Rosenbergs was a mockery of justice or it was not. Either "*Daniel*" is a movie based on historical truth or it is not. Perhaps it would be more sophisticatated to enjoy the ambiguity here, but the people who paid to come and see the film deserve to *know*.

Certainly the actors attempting to read their lines wanted to know. Many of the poor performances by talented people which you can see in this film are attributable to the fact that their director refused to give them a clear perspective about what *really* happened, despite erudite seminars on the history of the American Communist Party given to the cast in pre-production.

It is probably not accidental that at the same moment the New York intellectual community is dividing itself over a new history of the Rosenberg affair, the film "*Daniel*" arrives to add fuel to the flames. The erstwhile New Left historian Ronald Radosh, in his book "*The Rosenberg File*," argues that the Rosenbergs were, in fact, guilty of spying. On the other side are a pro-Rosenberg couple called the Schreiners who maintain that Julius and Ethel were entirely innocent of the charges and that the events of their trial and execution were the hysterical hallucinations of a nation temporarily insane with the tensions of the Cold War. The truth of the matter may lie somewhere in between. It is entirely possible that both the FBI *and* the Communist Party had something to gain from the judicial murder of the Rosenbergs. There is another quiet tradition which holds that there was indeed some spying going on, but that Julius and Ethel had nothing to do with it and, were blissfully ignorant of this other side of Soviet policy which in all other respects they admired. As this story has it, there was, in fact, another spy couple, and when the FBI failed to catch them (as it often does), it was on the lookout for substitute victims. The Communist Party knew this, of course, and to divert the "Bureau" may have thrown poor Julius and Ethel to the wolves as a way of creating perfectly innocent martyrs. The role of the traitorous Selig, then, might be simply that of turning informer on Party orders. The FBI had saved the nation from mortal peril (and terrorized an entire generation of political people) and the Communist party had acquired some unimpeachable martyrs. Nice deal. For everyone except the Rosenbergs and their children. In real life and now on the screen, we are left with a fable in which there are more questions than answers.

Reviewed by Jean Monds.

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by Manlio Argueta
Translated from the Spanish by Bill Brow. Published by AVENTURA, The Library of Contemporary World Literature, Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, New York, 1983. Paper, $6.95.

There is hardly a week that passes without news of more killings in war-torn El Salvador. Since January of this year alone, more than 100 non-combatants per week have been murdered. The American Civil Liberties Union and the Americas Watch Committee have reported a staggering list of violent abductions, torture, disappearances, murders and massacres at the hands of El Salvador's security forces. Congressmen James Oberstar, James Jeffords and Bill Richardson summarized their conclusions on human rights in El Salvador with these words: "Our delegation saw the marks which torture leaves on the human body; we saw photos of men and women beheaded and split like sheep; we heard relatives tell of the death and mutilation of a 75-year old man; we heard a colonel admit without shame that he napalmed his countrymen; we heard the statistics confirming that no kind of atrocity is unusual in El Salvador; we heard the military tell us repression is essential; and we heard it all justified in the name of anti-communism and nothing more." Most of the victims of these grim statistics are peasants.

The war in El Salvador has been raging for four years now, fueled by military aid from the United States. The Reagan administration has proposed $136.3 million in military aid for the upcoming year.

As shocking and brutal as the newspaper stories, pictures and TV images of the war in El Salvador are, their constant repetition in the last four years has often desensitized us to its actual horror for the Salvadoran population. Manlio Argueta's grim but dignified novel, *One Day of Life*, brings us much closer to the unrelenting brutality of the situation in El Salvador than have a thousand newscasts and articles.

In view of this deeply disturbing picture of political violence and the even more disturbing spectre of another Vietnam in El Salvador, with the possibility of American troops becoming embroiled in that country's civil war, the translation and publication of Argueta's novel is a timely political act.

Manlio Argueta is a Salvadoran who was forced into exile in Costa Rica by his government as a result of this book, which has already been published in Italy, Germany and the Netherlands. He is Central America's pre-eminent literary man, having won Latin America's most prestigious literary award, the Casa de las Americas Prize. In addition to being a novelist, he is a distinguished poet and a fervent social activist, having been violently expelled from El Salvador four times and arrested on numerous occasions for protesting government repression.

The story of the family of Jose (Chepe) Guardado, peasant farmers in Chalate in the province of Chaletenango in El Salvador, is told by Argueta almost entirely from the point of view of Lupe, married at 15 and now a grandmother at 45. The story opens at 5:30 a.m. when Lupe awakens to the light that enters between the sticks of her wooden house, and gets up to do her chores, and ends at five that afternoon with the Civil Guard's search for and interrogation of Lupe's adolescent granddaughter, Adolfina. The entire history of degradation and mistreatment of Salvadoran peasants is encapsulated in this one day of life. It reveals not only the horror and terror and brutality of miserable poverty and ignorance, but also the systematic repression of the peasant's humble aspirations by the US-supported National Guard and by the government.

No detail escapes Argueta's attention in this novel. The role of the Catholic Church is mercilessly portrayed through Lupe's exposition of infant mortality. Her accounts of the daily rituals of life in extreme poverty are illuminating. She describes how, traditionally, most infants die of dehydration before the age of one, because superstition and technology, combine in the myth that milk is not good for babies, hence the mothers do not breastfeed, and instead give their babies water mixed with cornflour. The water is not sterilized, and nutritionally speaking the babies starve; except that first they get diarrhea and die of dehydration. Because there are no doctors to speak of, the peasants take the sick and dying babies to the priests. The priests simply baptize them before they die (for the payment of plump chickens or pork), and remind the peasants to come to mass and not to be free-thinkers. But Lupe tells us that now there are new priests who come around who are dressed differently, who help them organize, and educate them about how to feed and care for their babies, and instead of asking for payment, they bring food or toys for the children. In this simple description, Argueta has masterfully dramatized the relationship between the peasants, the traditional Catholic Church, and the emerging radical priests.

Argueta also gives us a vivid portrait of El Salvador's social structure with the picture of the Guards, whose pathetic class-pride has been cynically manipulated. One cannot escape the conclusion that the authorities, through the Guard, have declared war on the peasantry, brutalizing, raping and murdering them. But the Guard are made up of peasants too. They are recruited while young, and trained into a life that is completely alien to them.

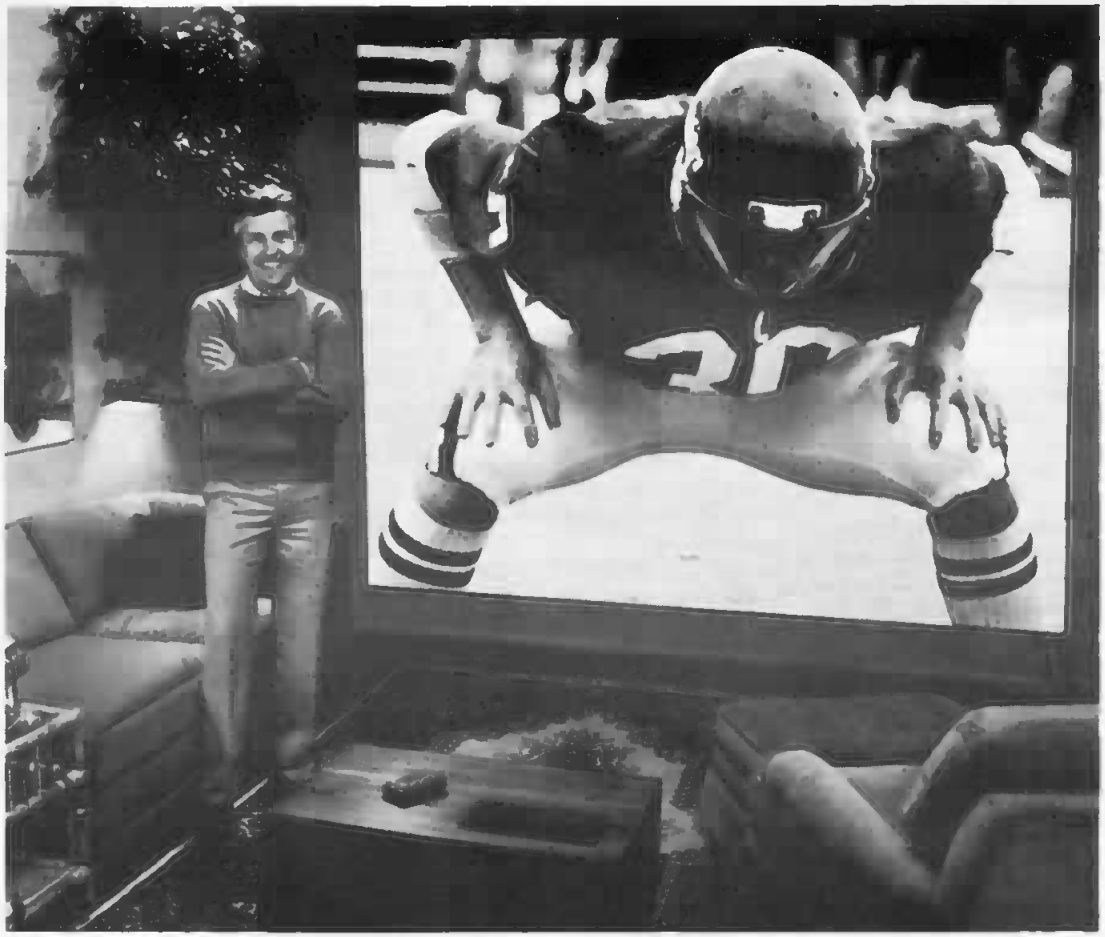
During the typical day described by Argueta the National Guard arrive at Lupe's house to await the arrival of Adolfina, so they can question her about a man she may have seen that morning. Their presence makes Lupe both nervous and reflective. She remembers her husband's "awareness" of their misery; finding her son Justino's head mounted on a roadpike; Adolfina's participating in the occupation of the Archbishop's Church and the demonstration at the bank in San Salvador; and of how she tried to sell 'Achiote' to supplement their income so they could eat more than just tortillas and salt.

At the end of the day the guard bring before Lupe and Adolfina the half-dead, savaged body, which looks like it has been torn apart by dogs, of her husband Chepe; and she denies knowing him, in order to avoid the deaths of herself, her children and her grandchildren.

Argueta ends his novel with Adolfina and Lupe expressing hope and fear for the future. His work is a *tour de force*, which in its simple style, noted for understatement, expresses the plight of the Central American peasant in a powerful and terrifying narrative. What emerges from this at times unbearable brutality is the irrepressible hope for social justice.

Reviewed by Suzi Weissman

Deathsquad victims are often disfigured beyond recognition *Photo by Ron Kinney*



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BOOKS

MAKE BELIEVE: THE STORY OF NANCY AND RONALD REAGAN

by Laurence Leamer
Published by Harper and Row, $14.95.

Once upon a time in a land far far away, there was a poor peasant boy who dreamed of being king. As he toiled with scant reward in his father's fields, he kept a secret smile behind his serious face, for he knew that some day, some day after many trials and adventures, he would find his princess and together they would scale the castle walls where he would make her his queen and bask in the love of a grateful people.

But first there were many paths to travel and many battles to be won. The land, like so many others in those days, was in the grip of evil forces. Beset by the empire of darkness from without, the people were so weak and disspirited that they were swayed by the agents of the dark power who worked their subtle designs from within. Taking no more with him than a strong body and a winning smile, the boy kissed his sleeping mother and set forth on the broad highways of the kingdom.

Many were the things he saw and dangerous was his path as he journeyed to the West where the sinister powers had their strongest and most secret camp. There, falling among them, the boy adopted the guise of the thieves and traitors to learn their plans and to forge his own against them. The temptations were many and often he almost strayed from his chosen path. He knew many bitter days and desperate defeats. His first princess was a false one and though part with her he must, he loved her deeply and her loss cast him into despair. Passing through the painful ordeal of failure and self-doubt, the boy, now grown a man, searched within himself for the strength to go on. Renewing his pledge, he vowed to seek out the enemy and to destroy him or to die.

He then threw off his artful mask and unsheathed the sharp sword of truth. In mortal danger, he pointed to the secret agents of the black empire, and began to smite them where they lay hidden. At first none of the simple folk rallied to his side, but he fought on. Then, as the hour was darkest just before dawn, the true princess appeared. Their eyes touched through the smoke of battle, and each knew that the other shared the same faith . . . someday they would be king and queen.

This, whimsically paraphrased, is the plot line of the novel by Laurence Leamer which you are about to read. It is more or less loosely based on the lives of certain people, the recent history of the Republic, and a bunch of old studio press releases.

Leamer has chosen the sacred precints of Washington and the people whom all Americans hold dear as the venue for an unprecedented romp through the gardens of privilege, the ballrooms of decadence and the boudoirs of deceit. He begins by setting the stage as the confident Californians descend on Washington in January of 1981 for the coronation of Ronald Reagan.

"The country had a 7.4% unemployment rate, but suntanned and loyal Californians saw nothing wrong in flaunting wealth . . . And so they came to Washington, those who had achieved what Ronnie and Nancy considered the American dream, to take part in the $16 million inauguration, by far the most expensive in American history."

The austere Barry Goldwater who "had sired the movement that had brought Ronnie to the White House," was heard to rumble:

"I've seen seven [inaugurations], and I say when you've got to pay $2,000 for a limousine for four days, $7 to park, and $2.50 to check your coat, at a time when most people in this country can't hack it, that's ostentatious."

Playing Cicero to Ronnie's Caligula, the older senator is presented to show the sterner morality (and lower prices) of an earlier Republican virtue. There are classical echoes here and Leamer orchestrates them masterfully.

Speaking of the celebration before the inaugural, Leamer observes:

"To please the Reaganites, the standard fare of hot dogs, beer, and peanuts had been royally augmented with oysters on the half shell, champagne, and chilled crab claws."

After everyone was seated, Donny Osmond treated the throng to a witty modification of a classic rock and roll number. He sang, 'Go, go, go Ronnie go, Ronnie be good, Ronnie be good tonight.' Or words to that effect.

"By the momentarily bewildered look on Ronnie's face," Leamer writes, " he didn't appear to know just where Donny Osmond wanted him to go. But for Ronnie and Nancy and most of those in the audience, it was an extraordinary evening."

Some of the fun was provided by the above-mentioned Francis Albert Sinatra who, as Leamer points out, had been "pushed aside" from the White House since the Kennedy days, "allegedly because of his unsavoury connections with the underworld."

Standing on the stage in his dinner jacket, Leamer writes, Sinatra was " wearing what appeared to be a Prince Valiant toupee and reading from index cards."

You may have gone too far here, Leamer. Frankie has a way of getting even with wise guys like you.

But it might be OK to poke a little fun at the President:

"After taking the oath of office, he gave a relatively short twenty-minute address tailored to the television audience, complete with suggested camera shots. Much of the speech he had culled from campaign speeches, and he spoke in a voice that at times suggested Henry Fonda playing Abraham Lincoln."

There is more, and more, and more, in this vein. The entire novel is full of it, and I've been able to give little more than a gloss on the first exciting chapter. The main point that Leamer wishes to make in this book is *not* that Nancy spends too much money on clothes and dishes, and certainly *not* that Ronnie is often watching re-runs on TV when he's supposed to be at the helm of the ship of state. The book's real and artful design is to show us "American Statesmanship As Hollywood Movie." As Leamer sees it, "Ronnie" is always playing to some script. This may be perfectly acceptable in a *movie*, but it gets a bit tricky when you're the President of the United States—even if your co-star is a good ol' gal and who'll give you a dewy kiss in the last frame. What Reagan doesn't seem to realize is tht the role he's playing may turn out to be "*Doctor Strangelove*".

Review by Dan Mosen.

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BOOKS

MONIMBÓ,
A Novel By
Robert Moss and Arnaud De Borchgrave
Simon and Schuster, New York. 1983
$15.95

Monimbó is not an African word, Robert Moss and Arnaud de Borchgrave tell us. It is an Indian village in Nicaragua where, we are told, Fidel Castro held a secret meeting to map out a Cuban strategy to incite revolution in the United States in July 1980. "We have agents of absolute confidence all over the United States who are ready to undertake whatever actions are necessary," Castro says as he puffs away on a Havana cigar. "We can accomplish things that would make the riots in (Miami) Florida look like a sun-shower."

Fidel gives his plan the code name "Monimbó," and "*Monimbó,*" the novel, gives our hero, *New York World* reporter Robert Hockney and his two allies, Puerto Rican FBI agent Frank Parra and Miami cop Ray Maguire, the task of stopping the Cuban-ignited revolution before it is too late. The plot takes us from the Cuban-executed assassination of Senator Joel Fairchild, a conservative Republican from Texas who is chairman of the Senate Internal Security Committee, to riots in Miami and, finally, to New York City where Cuban spies black out the entire city, blow up the World Trade Center and touch off race-riots with an assassination attempt on the life of the good Reverand Wright Washington.

The plot and the characters that fill the 381 pages of this book are cut from cardboard and are pasted together with incandescent red glue. At every turn of the page, the obvious happens. Moss and De Borchgrave don't overestimate your intelligence. If you like to guess at things, in this book the authors make sure you guess right. For example, reporter Hockney reflecting on Senator Fairchild's abduction, which gets everything started in this book: " 'Oh, yes. A typical bunch of Puerto Rican terrorists.' He grinned, thinking of the elderly golfers in plaid pants and the bouffant Long Island widows. Then he checked himself, remembering a smoldering Latin girl and a green-eyed American who did not want to talk to strangers. Was it possible that he had rubbed shoulders with the terrorists without realizing it?" Of *course* it's possible.

Not once in this "thriller" are we led down a dead end, or taken along an unconventional or surprising alley. Everything is a set-up to make an ideological or political point. What we have here is rightwing agitprop.

The message is loud and clear. Behind the Fairchild kidnapping, the Miami riots, the New York mayhem, is the silent hand of Cuban chicanery and intrigue. In each chapter, at intervals of about 10 pages, Moss and De Borchgrave feed us a paragraph or two to remind us of this Cuban connection. "We have trained thousands in Cuba through the vehicle of the Venceremos Brigades and the Antonio Maceo Brigaeds," declares Comandante Calixto Valdez of the Cuban spy agency DGI. "We have friends and agents among religious organizations, the media and the American Congress. With these assets, we can continue to build the climate for a major eruption."

Like the story of Castro's visit to Monimbó at the start of the novel, this stuff sounds vaguely plausible. But is it fact? Or is it fiction? Take the Miami riots. In "*Monimbó,*" the riots are sparked by "Black Fedayeen," revolutionaries controlled by Cuba. The riots have a familiar ring that makes the Black Fedayeen story seem authentic. Afterall, there were race riots in Liberty City, Miami in 1980. In truth, those riots were not touched off by black militants but by Miami policemen who stomped to death a black businessman. Moss and De Borchgrave manipulate our memory of recent events to take on the sinister colors of the Cuban Menace.

They must, nevertheless, be given credit for their opportunistic use of real events in Miami and Cuba to breathe life into their flabby conspiracy theory. Without the dash of reality "*Monimbó*" would fall even flatter on its face. They use our subliminal memories of newspaper headlines to do their work for them.

Who are Robert Moss and Arnaud de Borchgrave anyway? Turn the tables on our industrious authors and the shadow of suspicion falls on them. In recent years, according to the *New York Times* and ABC-TV, Robert Moss—once a speech writer for Margaret Thatcher—has been on the payroll of the Shah of Iran, Anastazio Somoza and the CIA. He has been connected to a group of Chilean journalists said to be organized and controlled by the CIA. A book he wrote about Chile was financed by a CIA front group. Both Moss and de Borchgrave boast of their contacts with spooks in Europe and at Langley, Virginia, home of the CIA.

Let's talk their language for a moment—real conspiracy. With all their close CIA ties, is it unreasonable to suspect that "*Monimbó,*" is an in-house project? It cannot be forgotten that "disinformation" is a favorite technique of U.S. spooks. The Agency certainly has room in its budget for just such a venture.

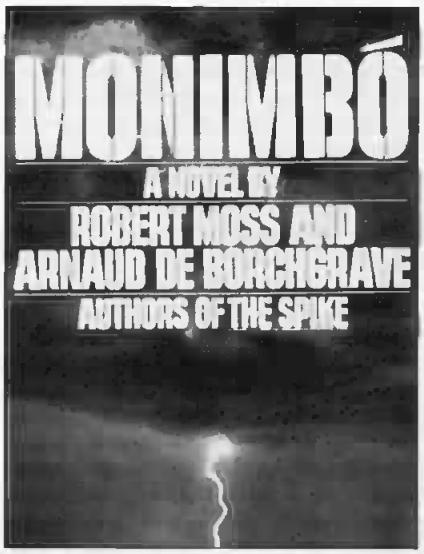
Did the Company get it's money worth? Not really. "*Monimbó,*" taken on its own terms, isn't very good proganda because it isn't a very good thriller. Little things don't feel right. Hockney, our reporter, is taken into the confidence of a very cautious cop within two minutes of their meeting one another. I never met a policeman who took a stranger into confidence on the first date, especially not a reporter. And how about the Miami policemen in "*Monimbó*" who, when being shot at "(fire) carefully aimed shots over the heads of the men in the street . . . " and then "fire two more warning rounds." What city do Moss and de Borchgrave live in?

We also find the storyline peppered with gratuitous swipes at Norman Mailer, Malcolm X (he's been dead almost 20 years), the Institute for Policy Studies, liberal Congressmen and Church leaders, the National Lawyers Guild, even the *New York Times.* No one on the usual rightwing hit lists is left out. Hard news stories, such as the CIA-sponsored invasions of Nicaragua by counter-revolutionaries are pooh-poohed through-out "*Monimbó,*" as if by discounting the facts this novel will make them disappear.

Moreover, "*Monimbó*" does not work as a thriller because of the paranoia and literary simple-mindedness of its authors. They are so afraid to give us any information about the characters that we get no information at all. What we have are lifeless, passionless people, who have no existance independent of the political fantasies of Robert Moss and Arnaud de Borchgrave. Ten minutes after Hockney views the mangled, disfigured body of his just-murdered wife, he's back to tracking down Monimbó conspirators. On the other side, the chief Cuban protagonist, double agent Julio Parodi is a nobody to us. We never know what makes a cocaine-dealing multi-millionaire a two-timing Cuban agent.

In a John LeCarre or a Len Deighton spy thriller, we find flesh and blood characters who are as complex as life itself. That's where the true intrigue lies; that's where the story gets its life. Because Moss and De Borchgrave have such a simplistic view of life, and the world, they give us unbelievable characters. As a result, "*Monimbó*" comes up as dull as the propaganda it wants us to believe in.

Reviewed by Greg Goldin.



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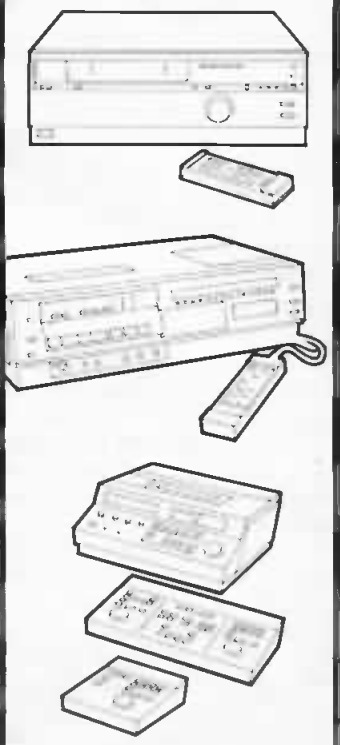

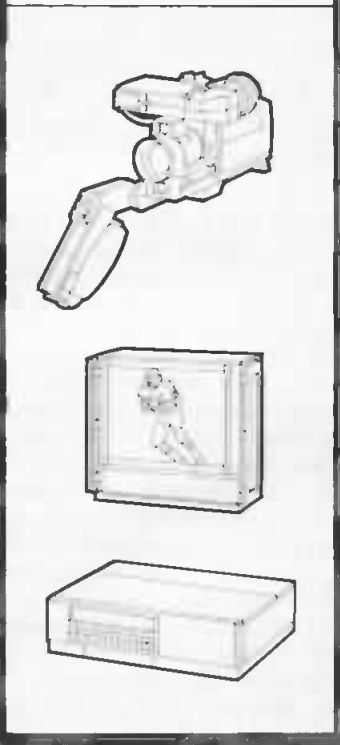

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ROUND-UP

ETHICS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY has declined in the past decade—particularly among business executives—according to a recent Gallup poll. An executive in his 40s comments, "I believe more and more executives have become extremely aggressive in augmenting their own personal well-being at the expense of corporations and shareholders." While 40 percent of the public say they have taken home paper from the office, 74 percent of the executives say they've done the same. 35 percent of the executives, and only 13 percent of the general public, admit to overstated deductions on tax forms. Some 78 percent of the executives, but only 15 percent of the public, admit to having used company telephones for personal long-distance calls. But beyond the statistics, the answers to Gallup's poll suggest a widespread double standard: People who condemn taking advantage of an individual seem to shrug their shoulders over doing the same thing to an employer. (*Wall Street Journal*)

●

A DEPUTY CITY ATTORNEY of Los Angeles has charged that L.A. businessman Robert M. Terry, currently the subject of a tax investigation by the U.S. Organized Crime Strike Force in L.A., met regularly with White House Counselor Ed Meese—a charge both deny. Terry was also alleged to be involved in international gun sales and attempts to supply Argentina with "war helicopters" during the Falklands War. Terry attracted the interest of law enforcement officials with his deals with Dunes Casino owner Morris Shenker and other alleged mob associates. He was invited to the White House and photographed with Nancy Reagan following his $25,000 contribution to the Wolf Trap Performing Arts Foundation in 1981. (*Los Angeles Times*)

●

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT officials say

they made former South Carolina congressman John Jenrette an Abscam target "as a favor" for FBI agents in his home state who were unable to indict him after an investigation into his alleged involvement in drug smuggling and land fraud. (*Oregonian*).

●

ANTI-CASTRO CUBAN political exiles control the bulk of marijuana trafficking along the Texas coast. Multi-ton suppliers include Tony Fernandez, who owned major interests in Miami banks and shopping centers, but fled to Spain after indictments in Florida and New Orleans. One of his lieutenants, Diego Morales, undertook clandestine missions into Cuba on behalf of the CIA in the early 1960s. His smuggling associate, Reuben Perez, was a teen-age paratrooper captured at the Bay of Pigs. Yet another smuggler, Conrado Caballeros, personally met President Kennedy before infiltrating Cuba for the CIA in October 1962, during the missile crisis. He was a member of the elite team headed by CIA officer Rip Robertson. A total of seven known CIA veterans are or until recently were active in this trade. (*Houston Chronicle*)

●

NARCOTICS USE and sales by police officers has become one of the New York City police department's most serious corruption problems, according to the department's annual report. (*New York Times*)

●

SAM CAMMARATA, Houston nightclub owner and talent promoter, recently convicted of racketeering and drug conspiracy, had international connections and ties to the FBI and DEA as an informer. He was responsible for six murders (for money or to silence witnesses); operated in Lebanon, Mexico, Colombia, California, Colorado and Texas; and plotted to kill the president of Lebanon in order to prosper from drug dealings with a new regime. Cammarata ran unsuccessfully for Congress in Massachusetts, managed the career of boxer Rocky Marciano and produced records for singer Jimmy Dean. Seeking protection from Florida businessman Dominic Santarelli (who had Chicago mob connections), Cammarata became an FBI informer in 1976. He gave information on Arab plots to kill President Reagan, and Libyan payoffs to Billy Carter for his help in obtaining weapons. (*Houston Chronicle*)

●

LEBANON HAS become a key center of the cocaine trade, involving Lebanese merchants in South America, but the U.S. declines to crack down for fear of undermining leaders of the current Beirut government. Coca paste is allegedly being shipped from South America to Lebanon for refinement, then smuggled to Europe and America, according to senior U.S. officials. One of those involved in the allied hashish trade is the Gemayel family and its Christian Phalange party. "We had hard

evidence that it was tied into the Christian Front and the Gemayel family is a major part of the Front," said former Rep. Lester Wolff, who chaired the House Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control.

●

A CIA-PROTECTED lawyer and businessman from Liechtenstein, Alfred J. Buhler, has been connected with stock and tax fraud, illegal arms deals, kidnapping and overseas bribes on behalf of American corporations. In a sworn deposition, one former IRS agent has described Buhler as a "bagman, a courier and a paymaster" for the CIA. He has been involved in overseas bribes by Lockheed, Grumman and Page Airways (itself deeply involved in the Wilson-Terpil affair); he figured prominently in the 1967 abduction to Algeria of Moise Tshombe, the right-wing Congolese leader; he helped divert British airplanes to Rhodesia in violation of the embargo; and

he helped Howard Hughes aide John Meier to launder money siphoned off from the Hughes empire into Liechtenstein. Finally, he appears to have had a hand in the downfall of Penn Central by the diversion of $4 million into numbered trusts. (*San Francisco Chronicle*)

●

WITH STRONG DISSENT from their new chairman, members of the Nevada Gaming Commission voted 3-1 to permit former Caesar's World boss, Clifford Perlman, to take over the Dunes hotel-casino in Las Vegas. Clifford and his brother Stuart had been turned down by New Jersey authorities because of their business dealings with Meyer Lansky associate Sam Cohen, alleged Lansky associate Alvin Malnik and convicted building contractor Cal Kovens (a Jimmy Hoffa crony). The brothers were aided in their licensing fight by powerful political figures, including their attorney, former Nevada governor Grant Sawyer and former Representative Jim Santini. (*Los Angeles Times*)

●

AN ELITE GROUP of former U.S. intelligence officers has been formed to stifle films, books and documentaries critical of the CIA, The State Department or official policy in general. Calling themselves "Challenge," the ex-spooks have launched multi-million dollar libel suits against the film *Missing*, a book on the Orlando Letelier assassination, "*Death in Washington*," and the CBS Television documentary on General William Westmoreland.

●

FEDERAL AGENTS are said to be investigating a drug ring between Cuba and Florida's Orange County that allegedly supplied the Castro regime with sophisticated computer equipment in return for marijuana. One of the principals, Texas businessman Robert Brownfield, is a protected witness. (*New Orleans Times-Picayune*)

●

A MIAMI JURY found five men guilty on charges of conspiring with Cuban government officials to smuggle more than five million methaquaalone tablets from Colombia into southern Florida. During the trial a self-described Cuban spy, Mario Estevez, testified that he helped smuggle Haitian and Colombian aliens into the U.S. "in order to make the first contact with drug traffickers" and ultimately "fill the United States with drugs." (*Miami Herald*)

●

NEW JERSEY State Commission of Investigations hearings turned up the names of 25 mobsters who obtained 12 million in credit from Atlantic City casinos last year. Nicodemo Scario, reputed mob boss of the city, received free rooms and dinners from the Tropicana, Claridge and Golden Nugget casinos. Other casinos giving such favors included the Sands, Harrah's, Caesars and Playboy. (*New York Times*)

●

FORMER CIA DIRECTOR, Stansfield Turner, disclosed that during the Carter Administration his agency sought ways to overthrow Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini, Libya's Muammar el Khadafi, Cuba's Castro and the Sandinista regime of Nicaragua. In each case he decided that such operations would be "impractical." ABC News has reported that President Reagan authorized a secret plan to overthrow the government of Surinam with a paramilitary force of exiles but dropped the idea when Congress objected. (*San Jose Mercury*)

●

SOVIET DIPLOMATS have been ejected in record numbers from Western countries for spying. Socialist France expelled 47 diplomats, journalists and residents, charging that the Soviets had been attempting to procure sensitive scientific and technological information.

GERD HEIDMANN, the Stern journalist who produced the famous fake Hitler diaries, has close Nazi associations of his own. His wife is a fervent admirer of Hitler. He bought Goering's yacht in 1973 and later developed friendships with Major General Karl Wolff, Heinrich Himmler's personal adjutant, and Wilhelm Mohnke, the SS brigade leader who had been the last commandant of Hitler's bunker.

●

LOS ANGELES police detective Jay Paul, under investigation for stashing masses of police political intelligence files in his home and garage, helped establish a massive computerized data bank on political leftists, managed by Western Goals, a Virginia-based right-wing organization headed by the late Representative Larry McDonald, who died in the Korean jetliner shot down by the Soviets. Members of Western Goals' board include General John

Singlaub, an associate of Mitchell WerBell, III, and former commander of U.S. troops in South Korea until President Carter fired him; Admiral Thomas Moorer; former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and Edward Teller, "father of the H-bomb." (*Los Angeles Times*)

●

THE VATICAN claims it never received funds from Banco Ambrosiano or its late boss, Roberto Calvi. It in fact made $20 million on what appears to have been a sweetheart deal. The Vatican bank, IOR, sold shares in a company to a Panamanian front, which bought them with money advanced by Ambrosiano. But the front was also secretly controlled by the Vatican and the shares were never delivered. As evidence mounts of Marcinkus's machinations on behalf of IOR with Calvi, the bankers who lost from Ambrosiano's collapse are considering suing the Vatican. (*London Sunday Times*)

Rebel NEWS

Long Island Nuclear Disaster Waiting to Happen

By Nicholas Shrady

Amid growing criticism and pressure from civic, environmental and legal groups, the Long Island Lighting Company (LILCO) is confronted with continued delays in the start-up date for its Shoreham nuclear power plant, located just fifty-six miles east of New York City.

Recent concern centers around the lack of experience that plant employees have with the operation of nuclear reactors, especially boiling-water reactors, of which the Shoreham facility is one of only 28 nationwide.

At an August 1 meeting, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (the government body responsible for monitoring the safety and operation of the nation's nuclear power-plants) advised that LILCO hire a new plant manager with significant experience in running a nuclear facility. The plant manager at the time was James Rivello, a long-standing company employee who had received some operational training, but had never run an active facility. In a letter to the NRC which appeared in Newsday, Millard Pollack, LILCO's vice-president for nuclear operations, stated, "The valid concerns expressed...of limited 'hands on' operating experience and its relationship to the first few years of operation is acknowledged, and I am moving to alleviate these concerns." LILCO belatedly reassigned Rivello to an oil-fired plant in Port Jefferson. The search is still underway for a replacement, but due to the limited number of individuals familiar with boiling-water reactors, there are reportedly only a handful of potential candidates.

According to Frank Jones, Suffolk County's Deputy Executive, the shortage of qualified personnel is not restricted to management positions; "LILCO's policy has always been to promote from within and that means that there are scores of employees for whom Shoreham is a training ground, the company simply does not have the ability to safely run the plant."

When started in the 1970's it was estimated that the facility would cost $265 million, the projection is now in excess of $4 billion; a rather hefty price tag for a plant which may never have the chance to produce a single kilowatt.

"The company simply does not have the ability to run the plant safely." *Photo by Newsday*

U.S. State Department Condemns Salvadoran Refugees to Certain Death

By Marc Cooper

It is early morning at Los Angeles International Airport, when a green Immigration Service van pulls up at an unmarked side entrance, and unloads its cargo for the day. A dozen refugees from El Salvador, having signed "voluntary" departure forms or having been denied political asylum, will be boarded onto the next flight home. They will conspicuously arrive six hours later in a country where forty thousand other civilians have been killed in the last four years at the hands of security forces and paramilitary death squads. And, according to new information, some of those refugees deported from the U.S. will meet their own deaths. The State Department, meanwhile, not only insists on denying political asylum status to the refugees, but has put a man in charge of their cases who knows virtually nothing about El Salvador.

Lawyers at the National Center for Immigrants' Rights estimate that there are currently 400,000 Salvadorans in the United States, the overwhelming number of them with no legal status. Some 25,000 of them have requests pending for political asylum, and about 5000 of their cases a year are processed by the State Department which makes a recommendation to the Immigration Service as to whether or not the Salvadorans can stay in the U.S. That answer is almost always an emphatic no.

Ignoring the political violence that literally ravishes El Salvador, the State Department claims that almost all Salvadorans that come to the U.S. do so for "economic" rather than for political reasons. Amit Pondya, Director of the American Civil Liberty Union's National Asylum Project says, for example, that of the 2526 Salvadorans whose requests for political asylum were processed between October 1982 and March 1983, only 70 were granted the right to stay in the U.S. And Pondya claims, that in the past 18 months, at least 4 Salvadorans deported from the U.S. showed up later as victims of their homegrown death squads; squads closely linked to the military establishment trained and financed with increasing amounts of U.S. tax dollars.

It's not difficult to understand why the Salvadorans are deported back home *en masse*. In a small office inside the State Department's Washington headquarters there sits one man, Jules Bassin, who almost single-handedly decides the fate of the Salvadorans who ask for safe refuge here. In a sworn deposition conducted in September 1983, and secured by *The Rebel*, Bassin said he had no knowledge of political violence or death squads in El Salvador, no knowledge of what happens to refugees after they are deported from the U.S., and that he relies principally on other State Department officers for his information on events in El Salvador.

Bassin has worked since 1980 in the State Department's Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs where his main responsibility is to review requests from Latin Americans seeking political asylum in the United States and then make a recommendation to the immigration service if such a request should be granted. Bassin claims to see as many as 8,000 cases a year, "the vast majority of them Salvadorans."

When asked under oath to describe what materials he uses to determine the validity of the applicants' claims that they are subjected to political violence, Bassin replied, "I both look at telegrams, I look at reports, I will look at reports, . . . newspapers, magazines. I will talk with people."

When asked to clarify what sort of reports he looks at, the officer said they were *all* of State Department origin. But when pressed by ACLU Attorney Mark Rosenbaum to be more specific about the nature and frequency of those reports, Bassin was ambiguous. A look at excerpts from the sworn deposition reveals that Salvadorans making a plea for understanding and mercy will be met with official indifference.

Rosenbaum: The weekly reports of violence, do you see those, the weekly report of violence?

Bassin: I do not remember seeing any recently, which means they haven't come in, or maybe I didn't get distribution, or maybe if I saw it—I just don't remember.

Rosenbaum: You don't recall seeing either weekly or monthly reports for some period of time; is that right?

Bassin: Right.

Bassin also says he reads *Newsweek* and *Time* magazines "from time to time" to learn more about El Salvador, as well as a number of State Department "booklets, reports, and brochures," that he referred to as "handouts." But, he admits, he has never read a book on El Salvador.

Independent human rights monitoring organizations like Amnesty International and Pax Cristi have supported refugees' claims that civilians in El Salvador face a real threat from the paramilitary death squads. In particular, deported refugees claim they are "marked" as targets by death squads as soon as they arrive in the San Salvador Airport. But in his testimony, Bassin says he has no knowledge of such squads.

Rosenbaum: Do you know if anyone else in El Salvador is responsible for political violence besides the military and the guerrillas?

Bassin: I don't know. Well, I see references to "death squads" but I don't know.

Rosenbaum: You are not really versed in that subject; is that right?

Bassin: No.

Rosenbaum: When you say you see reports, where do you see those reports?

Bassin: Reports about what?

Rosenbaum: The death squad, you used the phrase.

Bassin: Oh, the death squad?

Rosenbaum: Yes.

Bassin: Well, I think the last certification by Mr. (George) Shultz in July made reference to death squads.

Rosenbaum: But do you have any specific knowledge about that?

Bassin: No.

Bassin also affirmed that he had little information on the political situation in general in El Salvador. When asked directly if he considered himself knowledgeable on the problem of political violence in that country, he responded, "no."

Under further questioning, Bassin says he does not know if torture, kidnappings or disappearances take place in El Salvador. But State Department human rights certification reports, as well as statements from former Ambassadors Robert White and Deane Hinton, nevertheless, describe those activities as practices that do occur in El Salvador.

The Reagan Administration grants what is known as "extended voluntary departure" to refugees from countries not considered friendly to the United States. That means that undocumented immigrants from Cuba, Poland and Afghanistan, for example, if arrested by U.S. immigration agents, are given work permits and authorization to reside indefinitely in the United States. This is treatment far different from that given to people, like Salvadorans, fleeing governments politically and financially supported by the United States. One lawyer working full time on the cases of Salvadorans lamented the Administration's double standard saying: "A Salvadoran peasant being shot at by bullets paid for with U.S. tax dollars is no less deserving of refuge than an Afghan tribesman shot at by Soviet-manned Kalishnikov assault rifles."

But apparently, Mr. Bassin and his colleagues in the State Department don't agree.

Marc Cooper, a journalist based in Los Angeles, writes frequently on Latin American affairs for a variety of publications.

The Reverend Moon's Invasion of South America

By Fred Clarkson

There is a new political "cause" gaining popularity among American conservatives. Imported from Latin America, and quite popular among aspiring and practicing military dictators, the cause is an anti-communist crusade, and its latest panjandrum is none other than Sun Myung Moon, the self-proclaimed "Messiah of the Second Advent."

His vehicle is an organization called CAUSA (Confederation of the Association for the Unification of the Societies of the Americas), a political arm of Moon's Unification Church (UC). Founded in 1980, CAUSA brings us the familiar stuff of contemporary demagoguery, which brands political opponents as communists or dupes, and artfully turns a blind eye to the work of its Latin American apostles, who are responsible for the torture, murder, or "disappearance" of tens of thousands of suspected or actual dissenters.

Run by Moon's right-hand man, Bo Hi Pak, CAUSA already enjoys close relationships with the military juntas of Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay, as well as the de facto dictator of Honduras, Gen. Gustavo Alvarez Martinez. It claims to be active in a total of 18 countries.

CAUSA's principal vehicle is a seminar series entitled "Unificationism: A Solution to Communism." At such a round table in Chile in 1981, attended by ranking military officers of the Pinochet regime, Pak stated that although "Chile is still seen as a villain in the liberal press, I think the day will come when the world will recognize this nation as a fountain of hope." Chilean General Claudio Lopez responded in kind: "We know that such persons as Reverend Moon and yourself are pillars in the struggle against international communism." So far, Moon has put up his pillars throughout the region with seminars in Mexico, Jamaica, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Honduras, Argentina and Uruguay.

American conservatives who become the willing allies of the Moonies may get more than they bargained for. It is a matter of record that the Moon organization has had a close relationship with the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, of which Pak was a ranking officer. The KCIA spends most of its time in this country, harrassing exiled opponents of Korea's authoritarian regime, and guaranteeing the steady flow of U.S. aid dollars to Korea. But Moon's vision far transcends such parochial matters. In one famous speech Moon declared that "Korea, Japan, America, England, France, Germany, and Italy are the nations I count on in order to gain the whole world." Since then, Moon has left no doubt that the whole world includes Latin America, where CAUSA's academic right wing revival rallies have so pleased the local dictators that a number of American conservatives have been inspired to emulate them. Among the prominent American conservatives who participate in CAUSA events are F. Lynn Bouchey, Vice President, Council for Inter-American Security; Terry Dolan, Executive Director, National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC); and Jay Parker, President, the Lincoln Institute, and head of NCPAC's new $200,000 Blacks for Reagan campaign.

Thanks to the McCarthyism of the 1950s, we understand all too well the dangers presented by political opportunists who inflate the importance of their cause by doing battle with fictional enemies, and fabricating charges to smear their political opponents. Moon and his associates are very much within this tradition. Recall the Moon response to investigations of the "Koreagate" scandal of the 1970s by a subcommittee of the House International Relations Committee. Enraged by the bad publicity arising from the investigation, Moon's minions walked door-to-door throughout Minnesota, the home state of subcommittee chairman Donald Fraser (D-MN), telling constituents that the congressman was a communist agent. This massive smear campaign is widely believed to have caused his narrow defeat in the Democratic Senate primary of 1978.

Now that Moon has turned his attention to Latin America, his activities in the region are by no means small scale. In little Uruguay alone, where newspapers openly speculate whether that country will become the first "Unificationist republic," Moon owns two newspapers, a radio station, a 500-room luxury hotel, a meat-packing plant, and the nation's largest publishing house. In the Central American country of Honduras, a number of high government, business, and military leaders are CAUSA members; a new military prep school has hosted a CAUSA seminar led by Pak himself; and primary school teachers have been forced to attend CAUSA educational programs. The degree of CAUSA penetration of Honduran society led the conservative Catholic Bishops of Honduras (who had been warned about cults by the Pope) to declare that CAUSA is "anti-Christian," and that the UC creates "a species of material and spiritual slavery" that poses "serious dangers to anyone who yields to its influence."

Moon's presence in Honduras is no accident. Pak considers Honduras the "key" to Central America, and CAUSA secretary general Antonio Betancourt recently told the *Boston Globe* that "The path to Washington and New York is through Central America."

Fred Clarkson is a Research Associate at the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, a Washington-based organization that monitors U.S. relations with Latin America.

Reverend Sun Myung Moon follower at Yankee Stadium *Photo by A.J. Levin Black Star*

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THE NAZI CONNECTION TO THE JOHN F. KENNEDY ASSASSINATION

Evidence of link between Nazis still in operation after World War II to the still unsolved murder of John F. Kennedy

By Mae Brussell

1940–1945:
The Nazi Connection to Dallas:
General Reinhard Gehlen

The sparrow-faced man in the battle uniform of an American general clambered down the steps of the U.S. Army transport plane upon its arrival at Washington National Airport. It was August 24, 1945, two weeks after the surrender of Japan, three months after the German capitulation. The general was hustled into a van with no windows and whisked to Fort Hunt outside the capital. There he was attended by white-jacketed orderlies and, the next morning, fitted with a dark-grey business suit from one of Washington's swankiest men's stores.

General Reinhard Gehlen was ready to cut a deal.

Reinhard Gehlen had been, up until the recent capitulation, Adolph Hitler's chief intelligence officer against the Soviet Union. His American captors had decked him out in one of their uniforms to deceive the Russians, who were hunting him as a war criminal. Now U.S. intelligence was going to deploy Gehlen and his network of spies against the Russians. The Cold War was on.

This is a story of how key Nazis, even as the Wehrmacht was still on the offensive, anticipated military disaster and laid plans to transplant Nazism, intact but disguised, in havens in the West. It is the story of how honorable men, and some not so honorable, were so blinded by the Red menace that they fell into lockstep with Nazi designs. It is the story of the Odd Couple Plus One: the mob, the CIA and fanatical exiles, each with its own reason for gunning for Kennedy. It is a story that climaxes in Dallas on November 22, 1963 when John Kennedy was struckdown. And it is a story with an aftermath—America's slide to the brink of fascism. As William L. Shirer, author of *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, put it in speaking of the excesses of the Nixon Administration, "We could become the first country to go fascist through free elections."

General Reinhard Gehlen, shown (center) in a rare photograph taken during WWII *Photo by Wide World*

Even Robert Ludlum would have been hard put to invent a more improbable espionage yarn. In the eyes of the CIA Reinhard Gehlen was an "asset" of staggering potential. He was a professional spymaster, violently anti-Communist and, best of all, the controller of a vast underground network still in place inside Russian frontiers. His checkered past mattered not. "He's on our side and that's all that matters," chuckled Allen Dulles, a U.S. intelligence officer during the war who later headed the CIA. "Besides, one need not ask a Gehlen to one's club."

Gehlen negotiated with his American "hosts" with the cool hand of a Las Vegas gambler. When the German collapse was at hand, he had looked to the future. He lugged all his files into the Bavarian Alps and cached them at a site called, appropriately, Misery Meadows. Then he buried his Wehrmacht uniform with the embroidered eagle and swastika, donned an Alpine coat, and turned himself in to the nearest U.S. Army detachment. When the advancing Russians searched his headquarters at Zossen, all they found were empty file cabinets and litter.

The deal Gehlen struck with the Americans was not, for obvious reasons, released to the *Washington Post*. As Heinz Hohne and Hermann Zolling phrased it in *The General Was A Spy*, the German general took his entire apparatus, "unpurged and without interruption, into the service of the American superpower." There is no evidence that he ever renounced the Third Reich's postwar plan, advanced by his own family's publishing house, to colonize vast regions of Eastern Russia, create a huge famine for 40,000,000, and treat the remaining 50,000,000 "racially inferior" Slavs as slaves.

Allen Dulles may not have invited such a man to his club, but he did the next best thing; he funneled an aggregate of $200 million in CIA funds to the Gehlen Organization as it became known. Directing operations from a fortress-like nervecenter in Bavaria, Gehlen reactivated his network inside Russia. Soon, news of the first Russian jet fighter, the MiG-15, was channeled back to the West. In 1949 the general scored an espionage coup when he turned up Soviet plans for the re-militarization of East Germany.

When Dulles spoke, Gehlen listened. The CIA chief was convinced, along with his brother, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, that the "captive nations" of the Soviet bloc would rise up if given sufficient encouragement. At his behest, Gehlen recruited and trained an exile mercenary force ready to rush in without involving American units. Also at Dulles' direction, Gehlen tapped the ranks of his wartime Russian collaborators for a cadre of spies to be parachuted into the Soviet Union. Some of these spies were schooled at the CIA's clandestine base at Atsugi, Japan, where, in 1957, a young Marine named Lee Harvey Oswald was posted to the U-2 spy plane operation there.

Atsugi was only one station on Oswald's Far East intelligence route; he was also at the U-2 base at Subic Bay in the Philippines and, for a short while, at Ping-Tung, Taiwan. In 1959 he was transferred to Marine base at Santa Ana, California for instructions in radar surveillance. His training officer had graduated from the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, which had close Agency ties. In May, 1960, when President Eisenhower was planning a summit meeting with Soviet Premier Khruschev, a U-2 was shot down over Russia and its pilot captured. The pilot, Francis Gary Powers, later blamed his demise on Lee Harvey Oswald. The U-2 affair effectively sabotaged Ike's summit meeting.

In 1955, by pre-arrangement, the Gehlen Organization was transferred to the West German Government, becoming its first

intelligence arm, the BND. The BND became a Siamese twin of the CIA a global operation. They had already worked well together, in Iran in 1953, where the country's first democratic government was in power. Two years earlier Premier Mossadegh had rashly nationalized the oil industry. Dulles, with Gehlen's help, engineered a coup that toppled Mossadegh and reestablished the Pahlevi family regime. The family patriarch, General Reza Pahlevi, had been banished from the country for his pro-Nazi activities during the war. Now his son, Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, ascended the Peacock Throne. The Shah of Iran became one of the CIA's most faithful assests.

Gehlen pioneered the setting up of dummy fronts and cover companies to support his farflung covert operations. A major project was to form Eastern European emigre groups in the United States that could be used against the Soviets. Both the Tolstoy Foundation and the Union of Bishops of the Orthodox Church Outside Russia were funded by the CIA. When Lee and Marina Oswald arrived from the Soviet Union in June, 1962 they were befriended by some three dozen White Russians in the Dallas-Ft. Worth area. Many had identifiable Nazi links; others were in the oil and defense industries. It was an improbable social set for a defector to the U.S.S.R. and his wife from Minsk.

By the time the Gehlen Organization became part of the West German state, Gehlen already had his agent-in-place in the United States. He was Otto Albrecht von Bolschwing, who had been a captain in Heinrich Himmler's dreaded SS and Adolph Eichmann's superior in Europe and Palestine. Von Bolschwing worked simultaneously for Dulles' OSS. When he entered the United States in February, 1954, he cleverly concealed his Nazi past. He was to take over Gehlen's network not only in this country but in many corners of the globe. He became closely associated with the late Elmer Bobst of Warner-Lambert Pharmaceutical, a godfather of Richard Nixon's political career, which brought him inside Nixon's 1960 campaign for the presidency. In 1969 he showed up in California with a high-tech firm called TCI that held classified Defense Department contracts. His translator for German projects was Helene van Damme, Governor Ronald Reagan's appointments secretary. Von Damme is currently U.S. Ambassador to Austria, next door to the Nazi's homeland.

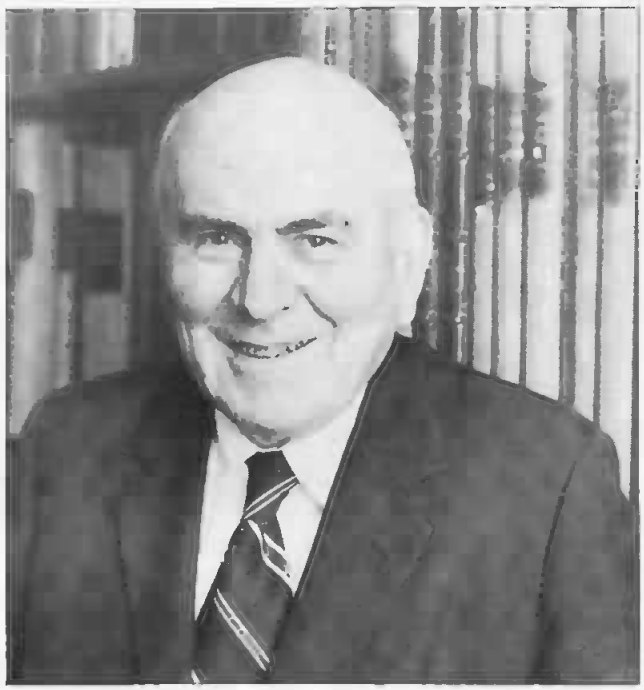
In 1968 Reinhard Gehlen withdrew to his chalet in Bavaria. The chalet had been a gift from Allen Dulles.

Wild Bill Donovan of the OSS, Allen Dulles and the Vatican

Allen Dulles dubbed it Operation Sunrise. He mounted it from his walk-up office in Bern, Switzerland, where, since 1942, he had maintained contact with key Nazis. Operation Sunrise was conceived when these Nazis decided, in the face of defeat, that they preferred to surrender to the Americans and British. The agreement, which double-crossed the Russians, was signed April 29, 1945.

The principle negotiator on the German side was SS Commandant Karl Wolff, head of the Gestapo in Italy. Wolff acted with full authority, for he was formerly chief of Heinrich Himmler's personal staff. Wolff's relationship with Dulles spared him from the dock at Nurenberg, but when it was later discovered that he had dispatched "at least" 300,000 Jews to the Treblinka death camp he was handed a token sentence. In 1983 Wolff made the social pages when he and some of his old SS buddies sojourned on the late Hermann Georing's yacht *Carin II* off Hamburg. The skipper was Gert Heidemann, an avowed Hamburg Nazi. The yacht belonged to the widow, Emmy Goering, whose estate attorney was the celebrated Melvin Belli. Belli has always had an eclectic clientele. He represented Jack Ruby after he shot Oswald. And he represented actor Errol Flynn's family interests. Flynn has been identified as having collaborated with the Gestapo.

When Wolff hammered out the secret surrender terms with Dulles, he had in the back of his mind a safe diaspora for his Nazi compatriots. This is where the OSS, William Donovan and the sovereign state of the Vatican came in. "Wild Bill" Donovan was top dog in the OSS. Shortly before the Germans overran Europe,



John J. McCloy had a lengthy career riddled with Nazi sympathies *Photo by Wide World*

Father Felix Morlion, a papal functionary, had set up a Vatican intelligence organization called Pro Deo in Lisbon. When the U.S. entered the war Donovan moved Morlion lock, stock and barrel to New York and opened a sizeable bank account for him to draw on. The priest founded the American Council for International Promotion of Democracy Under God, on 60th Street. In the same building is the office of William Taub, whose name popped up during the Watergate affair. Taub is well-known as a wide-ranging middleman for such powerful figures as Nixon, Howard Hughes, Aristotle Onasis and Jimmy Hoffa, and his behind-the-scenes maneuvers were invaluable to Nixon in his 1960 run at the presidency. Taub was especially close to Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviania of the Holy See, who arranged Mussolini's 1929 "donation" of $89,000,000 to the Vatican to ensure its neutrality with Mussolini and Hitler. The money went into a special fund in the Vatican Bank, and after the war part of it was entrusted to "God's Banker" Michele Sindona for investment. Sindona channeled a good chunk of it to the Nixon campaign.

When Rome was liberated in 1944 Morlion and Pro Deo relocated there. In recognition of Donovan's good works on behalf of Pro Deo, Pope Pius XII knighted him with the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Sylvester. And before he flew off to Washington to cut his deal with the CIA, Reinhard Gehlen received the Sovereign Military Order of Malta award from the Pontiff. So did James Jesus Angleton, a Donovan operative in Rome who became the CIA's chief of counterintelligence.

For Dulles, Operation Sunset was a personal triumph, one that set in motion his rise to the top of the intelligence heap. In 1963, by virtue of that position, he became the CIA's representative on the Warren Commission.

John J. McCloy and the Chase Manhattan

President Lyndon Johnson asked John J. McCloy to serve on the Warren Commission. No less than nine presidents had called on the Wall Street lawyer for special assignments, yet he was little-known to the public. McCloy said he entered the investigation "thinking there was a conspiracy," but left it convinced that Oswald acted alone. "I never saw a case that was more completely proven," he asserted.

McCloy had long been involved in the murky world of espionage, intrigue and Nazis. He spent the decade of the 1930s working out of Paris. Much of his time was spent on a law case

Major General Charles A. Willoughby, "Our own Junker general." *Photo by Wide World*

stemming from German sabotage in World War I. His investigation took him to Berlin, where he shared a box with Hitler at the 1936 Olympics. He was in contact with Rudolph Hess before the Nazi leader made a mysterious flight to England in 1941.

When the Nazis occupied Europe, the banking exchanges between Britain and the United States on the one hand and Germany on the other carried on as usual. In *Trading with The Enemy*, Charles Higham documents the role of Standard Oil of New Jersey, owned by the Chase Manhattan Bank, and I.G. Farben's Sterling Products with the Bank for International Settlements. Standard Oil tankers plied the sea lanes with fuel for the Nazi war machine. Prior to the war McCloy was legal counsel to Farben, the German chemical monopoly.

As an assistant secretary in the War Department during the war:

McCloy blocked the executions of Nazi war criminals.

Forged a pact with the Vichy regime of pro-Nazi Admiral Darlan.

Displaced Japanese-Americans in California to internment camps.

Refused to recommend the bombing of Nazi concentration camps to spare the inmates on grounds "the cost would be out of proportion to any possible benefits."

Refused Jewish refugees entry to the U.S.

When the curtain fell on the war, McCloy helped shield Klaus Barbie, the "butcher of Lyons," from the French. Barbie and other vicious dogs from Hitler's kennel were hidden out with the 970th Counter Intelligence Corps at Obergamergau. One of their keepers was Private Henry Kissinger, soon to enter Harvard as a McCloy protegé.

In 1949 McCloy returned to Germany as American High Commissioner. He commuted the death sentences of a number of Nazi war criminals, and gave early releases to others. One was Alfred Krupp, convicted of using slave labor in his armaments factories. Another was Hitler's financial genius, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, who subsequently went on the payroll of Aristotle Onassis.

In 1952 McCloy left a Germany that was prepared to rearm to return to his law practice. He became president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, director of a dozen blue chip corporations, and legal counsel to the "Seven Sisters" of American oil. During this period he acquired a client, the Nobel oil firm, whose interests in Czarist Russia had been managed by the father of George de Mohrenschildt, Lee and Marina Oswald's "best friend" in Dallas.

Busy as he was McCloy found time to supervise construction of the new Pentagon Building. It was nicknamed "McCloy's Folly."

J. Edgar Hoover and Interpol

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover "mistrusted and disliked all three Kennedy brothers. President Johnson and Hoover had mutual fear and hatred for the Kennedys," wrote the late William Sullivan, for many years an assistant FBI director. Hoover hated Robert Kennedy, who as Attorney General was his boss, and feared John. In turn the President distrusted Allen Dulles, easing him out as CIA director after the 1961 Bay of Pigs debacle. When JFK moved to lower the oil depletion allowance, he incurred the displeasure of John McCloy, whose clients' profits would be trimmed.

Hoover, Dulles and McCloy did not belong to the Kennedy fan club. When the President was shot, Hoover controlled the field investigation, and Dulles and McCloy helped mold the final verdict of the Warren Commission.

As America stood on the threshold of World War II Hoover continued a friendly relationship with the Nazis who dominated Interpol, the Berlin-based international secret police. He had been obsessed with the "Red menace" since 1919 when he became head of the Bureau's General Intelligence Division. Heinrich Himmler, Reinhard Heydrich, Arthur Nebe and other fanatical Nazis were active in Interpol. Even after Hitler occupied Czechoslovakia, Hoover ignored all evidence of Nazi death squads and atrocities and cooperated with the boys in Berlin. As France fell, Hoover exchanged lists of wanted criminals, enclosing autographed photographs of himself. It was not until three days before Pearl Harbor that he called a halt—and then only because he feared his image might be tarnished.

When the war had been imminent Roosevelt charged Hoover with ferreting out Nazi spies in the Western Hemisphere. Two escaped his notice. As early as 1933 Gestapo agent Dr. Hermann Friedrick Erban recruited Errol Flynn as an intelligence source. Erban went on to become a naturalized American citizen, but never abandoned his loyalty to Hitler. Flynn went on to make "*Santa Fe Trail*" in 1940, co-starring with Ronald Reagan, and the two paired up for "*Desperate Journey*" in 1942.

George de Mohrenschildt, the Oswalds' genial host in Dallas, was tagged by Hoover's FBI as a Nazi spy during World War II. G-men noted that his cousin, Baron Maydell, had Nazi ties, and that his uncle distributed pro-Nazi films. Their suspicions were confirmed when they trailed de Mohrenschildt from New York to Corpus Christi. On On October 8, 1942 a "lookout" was placed in his file in case he applied for another passport.

The parts left out of J. Edgar Hoover's investigation before and after Kennedy was killed were the Nazi associations de Mohrenschildt had while working for U.S. intelligence.

George's cousin, the movie producer Baron Constantine Maydell, was one of the top German Abwehr agents in North America. Reinhard von Gehlen recruited Maydell in the post-war era to be in charge of the CIA's Russian emigre programs.

Gehlen recruited veterans of Maydell's Abwehr Group to work with East European emigre organizations inside the U.S.

Part of Lee and Marina's red carpet treatment in the U.S. started with their arrival from the USSR. Spas T. Raigkin was the ex-Secretary General of a group such as Maydell's. The AFABN, the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations, with CIA funding, assisted Lee and Marina to get settled.

J. Edgar Hoover was trained only to see if there were Communists around . . . the red menace. The Abwehr, Reinhard Gehlen and Maydell were overlooked by the FBI.

After the war Interpol ostensibly cleaned up its act, moved to Paris and installed the prestigious Hoover as vice president. Yet Interpol steadfastly refused to hunt for Nazi war criminals, contending it was independent of politics. The excuse appeared a bit lame when, in the 1970s, former SS officer Paul Dickopf became president.

"Sir" Charles Willoughby, a Franco-German-American

He was a bull of a man who spoke with a German accent, wore a custom-tailored general's uniform and affected a monocle. A fellow officer nutshelled him as "our own Junker general." He had enlisted in the U.S. Army under his true name of Adolph Charles Weidenbach, born in Heidelberg, March 8, 1892. But by the time he became Douglas MacArthur's chief of intelligence for the war in the Pacific, he was Major General Charles A. Willoughby. Behind his back he was derisively tagged Sir Charles.

For a man of such Teutonic traits it was odd that Willoughby preferred his fascism with a Spanish accent. But this was an accident of geography. While serving as a military attaché in Ecuador, he had received a decoration from Mussolini's government—the Order of Saints Maurizio and Lazzaro. After delivering an impassioned paean to Spanish dictator Generalissimo Francisco Franco at a lunch in Madrid, he was toasted by the secretary general of the Falangist Party, "I am happy to know a fellow Falangist and reactionary."

MacArthur's pre-war headquarters were in the Philippines, whose commerce was dominated by resident Spaniards. The Daddy Warbucks of this crowd was Andres Soriano, who owned an early-day conglomerate of airlines, mines, breweries ("Of course!") and American distributorships. During the Spanish Civil War Soriano was one of Franco's principal money-bags. When the Rising Sun flag was raised over the Philippines Soriano fled to Washington to become finance minister of the government-in-exile. But there was such a fuss over his fascist reputation that he flew off to Australia to become a colonel on MacArthur's staff.

Willoughby accompanied the Supreme Commander to Tokyo for the occupation of Japan. His preferences remained the same; when military police shook down his hotel looking for a fugitive, they found Willoughby at dinner with the stranded Italian Fascist ambassador to Japan and members of his staff. He became a heavy-handed censor, suppressing unfavorable news to the States. He delighted in falsely labeling correspondents who defied him as "Communists," a tactic Senator McCarthy would adopt with enthusiasm. But the general's priority project was a dressed-up history of the Pacific War in which MacArthur would be the towering hero. Willoughby brought in Japanese military brass for a view from the enemy side, a move that may have had an ulterior motive. The possibility existed that Willoughby was down-playing Japanese war crimes so that the perpetrators could be protected for use against the Soviets later. This was happening in Germany where the top Nazis were writing the history of Malmedy. The tight security in which Willoughby wrapped the project only adds to this impression. One woman had a passkey, the wife of Dr. Mitsutaro Araki, a former exchange lecturer in Germany, who was closely tied in with high Nazis in Tokyo and the Tojo clique.

Willoughby harbored another secret that only came to light last year. During the war, the Japanese conducted germ warfare experiments with human beings as guinea pigs (at least 3,000 died, including an undetermined number of captured U.S. military). The Pentagon decided that the biological research might prove handy against the Russians, and the Japanese responsible for the experiments were granted immunity from prosecution in return for their laboratory records. On December 12, 1947 the Pentagon acknowledged the "wholehearted cooperation" of Willoughby in arranging the examination of the "human pathological material which had been transferred to Japan from the biological warfare installations."

As his final public gesture to Franco, Willoughby lobbied the U.S. Congress in August, 1952 to authorize $100,000,000 for the anti-Communist dictator's needs. Then he settled down in the United States to do battle with the domestic enemy. As Sir Charles and his right-wing allies saw it, Marxism wasn't the real enemy, the liberals were.

1952: The Travels of Klaus Barbie, Evita Peron, Otto Skorzeny, and Nicola Malaxa

By 1952 Klaus Barbie had arrived in Bolivia via a stop in Argentina. He had been spirited out of Germany by the CIA, with a hand from the Vatican. Soon he teamed up with SS Major Otto Skorzeny, who now was affiliated with the CIA. Dr. Fritz Thyssen and Dr. Gustav Krupp, both beneficiaries of McCloy's amnesty, bankrolled Skorzeny for the start. Barbie and Skorzeny were soon forming death squads such as the Angels of Death in Bolivia, the Anti-Communist Alliance in Argentina, and in Spain, with Stephan Della Chiaie, the Guerrillas of Christ the King.

In 1952 the Nazi, Martin Bormann, money was released. In Argentina, Evita Peron died of cancer at age 33. In her name was deposited, in 40 Swiss banks, the Nazi money. There was $100,000,000 cash, another $40,000,000 in diamonds. Several hundred million more were set aside with Evita's brother, Juan Duarte, as the courier. This led to three murders the following year:

Juan Duarte was shot to death.

Heinrich Dorge, an aide to Hjalmar Schacht, killed.

Rudolf Freude, Nazi banker who knew the locations of the money, was poisoned.

In 1952 Otto Skorzeny, who had been released from American custody in 1947, moved to Madrid. He created what is known as the International Fascista. The CIA and the Gehlen BND dispatched him to "trouble spots." On his payroll were former SS agents, French OAS terrorists and secret police from Portugal's PDID. PDID are the same initials as the Los Angeles police intelligence unit, Public Disorder Intelligence Division. The California PDID:

- Was exposed on May 24, 1983 as spying on law abiding citizens at an expense of $100,000.
- Utilizing a computerized dossier system bought by the late Representative Larry McDonald's Western Goals. McDonald was a national leader of the John Birch Society, which was exceedingly active in Dallas preceeding the Kennedy assassination.
- Western Goals has offices in Germany run by Eugene Wigner that feed data to the Gehlen BND.
- On the board of Western Goals are such Cold Warriors as Edward Teller, Admiral Thomas Moorer and Dr. Hans Senholz, once a Luftwaffe pilot.

SS Colonel Skorzeny's CIA agents participated in terror campaigns waged by Operation 40 in Guatemala, Brazil and Argentina. Skorzeny was also in charge of the Paladin mercenaries, whose cover, M.C. Inc., was a Madrid export-import firm.

Dr. Gerhard Hartmut von Schubert, [formerly] of Joseph Goebbels' propaganda ministry, was M.C. operating manager. The nerve-center for Skorzeny's operations was in Albufera, Spain. It was lodged in the same building as the Spanish intelligence agency SCOE under Colonel Eduardo Blanco and was also an office of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

The Albufera building was the kind of intelligence nest that was duplicated in New Orleans in 1963. That summer Lee Harvey Oswald handed out pro-Castro literature stamped with the address 544 Camp Street, a commercial building. This was a blunder, because Oswald actually was under the control of an anti-Castro operation headquartered there. His controller, W. Guy Banister, was connected with military intelligence, the CIA and a section of the World Anti-Communist League that had been set up by Willoughby and his Far Pacific intelligence unit in Taiwan.

In *The Great Heroin Coup*, Henrik Kruger disclosed that the International Fascist was "not only the first step toward fulfilling the dream of Skorzeny, but also of his close friends in Madrid, exile Jose Lopez Rega, Juan Peron's grey eminence, and prince Justo Valerio Borghese, the Italian Fascist money man who had been rescued from execution at the hands of the World War II Italian resistance by future CIA counter-intelligence whiz James J. Angleton."

A subcommittee on international operations of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee prepared a report "Latin America: Murder, Inc." that is still classified. The title repeats Lyndon Johnson's remark, three months before he died, "We were running a Murder, Inc. in the Caribbean." The report concluded: "The United States had joint operations between Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. The joint operations

Richard M. Nixon: strange friends in strange places and occupations *Photo by Wide World*

were known as Operation Condor. These are special teams used to carry out 'sanctions,' the killing of enemies."

Jack Anderson gave a few details in his column "Operation Condor, An Unholy Alliance" August 3, 1979:

> "Assassination teams are centered in Chile. This international consortium is located in Colonia Dignidad, Chile. Founded by Nazis from Hitler's S.S., headed by Franz Pfeiffer Richter, Adolf Hitler's 1,000 year Reich may not have perished. Children are cut up in front of their parents, suspects are asphyxiated in piles of excrement or rotated to death over barbecue pits."

Otto Skorzeny code-named his assault on American soldiers in the Battle of the Bulge Operation Greif, the Condor. He continued Condor with his post-war special teams that imposed "sanctions," meaning the assassination of enemies. Skorzeny's father-in-law was Hjalmar Schacht, president of Hitler's Reichsbank. Schacht guided Onassiss' shipyards in rebuilding the German and Japanese war fleets. In 1950 Onassis signed on Lars Anderson for his whaling ships on the hunt off Antarctica and Argentina. Anderson had belonged to Vidkum Quisling's Nazi collaborationist group in Norway during the war. Clay Shaw, who was charged by New Orleans D.A. Jim Garrison with complicity in the JFK assassination, was a close friend of Hjalmar Schacht.

In 1952 Nicola Malaxa moved from Whittier, California to Argentina. Malaxa had belonged to Otto von Bolschwing's Gestapo network, as did his associate, Viorel Trifia, who was living in Detroit. They were members of the Nazi Iron Guard in Romania, and had fled prosecution. They had one other thing in common; they were friends of Richard Nixon.

Trifia had been brought to the United States by von Bolschwing. Malaxa had escaped from Europe with over $200,000,000 in U.S. dollars. Upon arrival in New York he picked up another $200,000,000 from Chase Manhattan Bank. The legal path for his entry was smoothed by the Sullivan & Cromwell law offices, the Dulles brothers firm. Undersecretary of State Adolph Berle, who had helped Nixon and star witness Whittaker Chambers convict Alger Hiss, personally testified on Malaxa's behalf before a Congressional subcommittee on immigration. In 1951 Senator Nixon introduced a private bill to allow Malaxa permanent residence. Arrangements for his relocation in Whittier were made by Nixon's law office. The dummy front cover for Malaxa in Whittier was Western Tube. In 1946 Nixon had gotten a call from Herman L. Perry asking if he wanted to run for Congress against Representative Jerry Voorhis. Perry later became president of Western Tube.

When Malaza went to Argentina in 1952, he linked up with Juan Peron and Otto Skorzeny. Questions were raised at the time about J. Edgar Hoover, the Iron Guard, Malaxa and Vice President Nixon.

1960 Elections: Richard Nixon vs. John F. Kennedy

Before the election of 1960, a group within the Christian Right plotted to kill John Kennedy in Van Nuys, California while he was still a candidate. The group was a meld of anti-Castro Cubans, Minutemen and home-grown Nazis. Some were sought by Jim Garrison, following his arrest of Clay Shaw, for testimony before the New Orleans grand jury. When Garrison forwarded extradition papers for Edgar Eugene Bradley, a member of the group, Governor Ronald Reagan refused to sign them.

The leader of one of these groups, the Christian Defense League, was the Reverend William P. Gale. During the war Gale had been an Army colonel in the Philippines training guerrilla bands. His superior officer was Willoughby. By the late 1950s Gale was recruiting veterans for his "Identity" group, which was financed by a wealthy Los Angeles man.

One of the CDL's contacts was Captain Robert K. Brown, a special forces professional from Fort Benning, Georgia. Brown was working with anti-Castro Cubans, mercenaries similar to Skorzeny's teams. Brown is now publisher of *Soldier of Fortune* magazine and paramilitary texts such as *Silencers, Snipers and Assassins.* The book explains how Mitchell WerBell made special weapons for the CIA, Bay of Pigs assault squads and other customers. WerBell, son of a wealthy Czarist cavalry officer, perfected a silencer so effective a gun can be shot in one room and not heard in the next. It is ideal for assassinations.

There has been prolonged controversy about how many shots were fired the day Kennedy was killed. The President's wounds, nicks on the limousine and curb, and other bullet evidence indicated quite a few. But the Warren Commission concluded there were only three. It took the testimony of spectators in Dealey Plaza

who said they only heard three. It never considered the possibility that silencer-fitted guns were fired.

When Clay Shaw was arrested by Jim Garrison the news was of particular interest to the Italian newspaper *Paesa Sera*. It followed up with a story that Shaw belonged to a cover organization in Rome named Centro Mondiale Commerciale. Its location was frequently moved, its presidents rotated; its modus operandi altered. CMC included Italian Fascists, elements of the European paramilitary right, the CIA and the U.S. Defense Department. There were major shareholders with banks located in Switzerland, Miami, Basel and other major cities.

CMC had been formed in 1961, one year after Kennedy was elected. Its principals had worked with Fascist networks established after World War II. The board of directors numbered Ferenc Nagy, a former Hungarian premier who lead that country's Anti-Communist Countrymen's Party in exile. J. Edgar Hoover brought Nagy to the United States, where there were numerous Gehlen-supported emigre organizations. On August 18, 1951 the *Saturday Evening Post* pictured Nagy with Czech, Pole, Hungarian and Russian exiles under the heading: "They Want Us to Go to War Right Now." On November 22, 1963 Nagy was living in Dallas.

CMC was actually a subsidiary of Swiss-based Permindex, whose president was Prince Gutierez di Spadafora, Italian industrialist and large landowner. Spadafora's daughter-in-law was related to Hjalmar Schacht. Clay Shaw, who managed the New Orleans International Trade Mart, was a director. Another was Girgio Mantello, aka George Mandel, who would later move to New Orleans. Once convicted of "criminal activities" in Switzerland, Mantello worked closely with his fellow Hungarian Nagy. One of the goals of the CMC was that "Rome will recover once again her position as center of the civilized world."

Major L. M. Bloomfield, a veteran of the OSS who resided in Montreal, was a suspect Garrison wanted to question. In Canada he reportedly controlled Credit Suisse, Heineken's Breweries, Israel Continental Company, Grimaldo Siosa Lines and other international firms. Shaw's name was found among eleven directors of a company in Montreal that actually was based in Rome. Who was giving the virtually unlimited money to CMC, and who was getting it? The answer might have been found in the huge amounts that flowed out of Evita Peron's accounts.

Paesa Sera reported on March 4, 1967 that CMC was a creature of the CIA serving as a money conduit, and that Shaw and Bloomfield conducted illegal political espionage under its cover. In New Orleans, Shaw was the respected citizen who had helped restore the French Quarter. In Rome he was a vital member of the boards of twin companies dealing with fascists accused of European assassinations. Shaw's address book contained the private number of Principessa Marcelle Borghese, now Duchessa de Bomartao, who is related to Prince Valerio Borghese. Called the "Black Prince" and "The New Duce," Borghese was leader of the Movimento Sociale Italiano, a neo-Fascist syndicate. The Black Prince, who was a decorated submarine captain in the First World War, was convicted of cooperating with the Nazis in WW II and given 12 years in prison.

The Black Prince is the same Borghese rescued by the CIA's James J. Angleton. No wonder Angleton was awarded the Sovereign Military Order of Malta by the Pope after the war. It might explain what Angleton was hinting at when questioned about the murder of JFK: "A mansion has many rooms; there were many things during the period; I'm not privy to who struck John."

Clay Shaw's affiliation with Permindex would plug in later to Argentina, Spain, Rome, New Orleans and Dallas. The international range of hit teams, using CIA money diverted overseas to cover companies set up by the Gehlen Organization, started coming together after Shaw's arrest.

In November, 1960 it would be Nixon versus Kennedy. Frank Sinatra introduced Judith Exner to John Kennedy on the eve of the New Hampshire primary. A few weeks later Sinatra introduced Judith Exner to Chicago Mafia boss Sam Giancana. So Exner became involved, as William Safire put it, in a "dual affair with the nation's most powerful mobster and the nation's most powerful political leader."

Giancana was busy with more than his love life; he was hired to form assassination teams to go after Fidel Castro. The man who retained him was Robert Maheu, a former FBI and CIA operative. It was a classic cutoff. Maheu never mentioned that the CIA was behind it. He intimated to Giancana that wealthy Cuban exiles were providing the funds. This sounded plausible, since Maheu was Howard Hughes' right-hand man.

Giancana put his Los Angeles lieutenant, Johnny Roselli, in charge of the hit squads. In 1978 when the House Select Committee questioned him, Roselli hinted that his assignment was aimed at Kennedy as well as Castro. Shortly afterward, his body was found floating in an oil drum off the Florida coast. Giancana never got a chance to testify. He was shot to death in his Chicago home.

The Howard Hughes organization, used as a cover for the kill-Castro conspiracy, (Hughes thought it was a patriotic idea) has long retained Carl Byoir Associates as its public relations arm. Throughout the war Byoir represented Nazi bankers and industrialists and the I.G. Farben interests. One of its clients was Ernest Schmitz, member of the I.G. Farben-Ilgner and the German American Board of Trade. His Information Services was subsidized by the Nazi government. George Sylvester Viereck, editor of the German Library of Information, was also in business with Byoir. A lucrative Byoir client was the Frederick Flick Group. Flick, a Nurenberg defendant released by McCloy, was the single greatest power behind the Nazi military muscle.

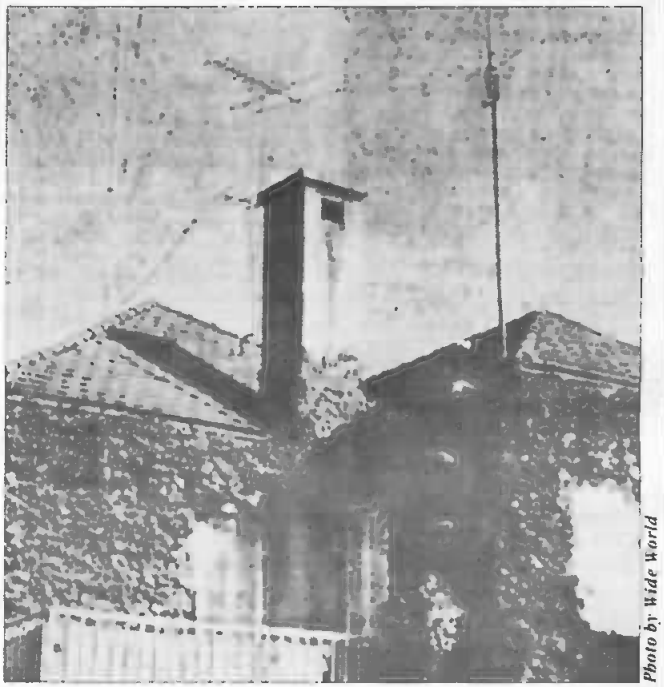


Photo by Wide World

Colonia Dignidad: Nobody comes, nobody goes

Frederick Flick's son was close to the W.R. Grace Company, and invested over $400,000 in partnership with J. Peter Grace in the United States. During the war W.R. Grace was accused in a military report of protecting a certain Nazi Colonel Brite in Bolivia. In 1951, when the CIA smuggled Barbie out of Germany; he was sent to join the same Colonel Brite. George de Mohrenschildt was a close associate of the company's founder, William Grace.

De Mohrenschildt was a man of many faces. He befriended Lee and Marina Oswald, introducing them to the White Russian community. He made phone calls to obtain Lee jobs and housing. As he told it to the Warren Commission, he was fascinated with this strange couple just out of Russia. But at the Petroleum Club in Dallas, de Mohrenschildt sang the praises of Heinrich Himmler. His travels took him all over the world on missions identified with intelligence. In 1956 he was employed by Pantetic Oil Company, owned by the family of William Buckley.

De Mohrenschildt often discussed Oswald with J. Walton Moore, the CIA's Domestic Contacts Division resident in Dallas. In the spring of 1963, just after visiting the Oswalds, he went to Washington. There is a record of a phone call de Mohrenschildt made on May 7, 1963, to the Army Chief of Staff for intelligence. The same month he had a meeting in person with a member of that staff. His military connections seem to have been wide. One of the first persons de Mohrenschildt took the Oswalds to see in Dallas was retired Admiral Chester Burton.

Although de Mohrenschildt and his wife Jeanne testified at length before the Warren Commission, only attorney Albert Jenner and Pentagon historian Alfred Goldberg attended. One of Jenner's clients was General Dynamics, maker of the F-111 fighter that would achieve fame in Vietnam. The chief of security for General Dynamics in Dallas, Max Clark, was another de Mohrenschildt associate donating money to help Marina while George got Lee his next job in Dallas. He found one at the graphics house of Jagger-Chiles-Stovall, which held classified military contracts.

Jeanne de Mohrenschildt was originally brought to the United States by a family member employed by the Howard Hughes organization. In 1977 George was found fatally shot, allegedly a suicide, on the day a House Select Committee investigator came by

Photo by Wide World

J. Edgar Hoover: he kept alive the Nazi intelligence network INTERPOL

looking for him. Jeanne consented to a press interview. She said George had been a Nazi spy.

The placement de Mohrenschildt got for Oswald allowed him to visit the Sol Bloom agency at least 40 times. It was this agency that later decided the motorcade route for Kennedy's fatal visit.

Ruth Paine, whom Oswald met via George, had called Roy Truly and procured work for Oswald at the Texas School Book Depository.

If Maydell and the Gehlen agents were active in the U.S. they knew all the right moves to secure their patsy.

1960: Young Americans for Freedom

President Harry Truman warned about the CIA "Gestapo" he had created.

President Eisenhower left the White House fearing the new "military industrial complex" he handed to us.

In 1960 candidate Richard Nixon was qualified for the job of President. A lot of influential people were sure he was the only choice.

Nixon was familiar with every red scare tactic. From his first campaign against Jerry Voorhis in 1946 for the House seat, or vs. Helen Douglas in the Senate, and working with Sen. Joe McCarthy, he knew it well. The prosecution of Alger Hiss, with such flimsy evidence, proved his value alone.

But Nixon had also accumulated strong connections with members of the crime syndicate, the Vatican hierarchy, defense industries and known Nazis. He knew them all.

What if he lost after those seventeen years of preparation? Would there be a back-up team for the future? Could the Pentagon or Reinhard Gehlen visualize leaving the entire United States presidency to chance elections?

Remember what happened to Senator Robert Kennedy on the eve of his primary victory in June, 1968? They can't get that close to losing it again, you know. With both Kennedys gone, Nixon finally made it.

September, 1960, two months before the elections, William F. Buckley Jr. launched his YAF, Young Americans for Freedom, from the grounds on his Connecticut estate.

Prior to that date, Buckley's career was one of the most conservative in the U.S. Following his graduation at Yale, mentor Frank Chodorov grabbed him for purposes related to his job with McCormick's Chicago Tribune.

Buckley served the CIA in Japan from 1950 to 1954.

He also did a stint with CIA in Mexico with E. Howard Hunt.

Co-founder of YAF was Douglas Caddy, whose offices were used by the CIA, Howard Hughes organization, at the time of Watergate illegal entries and other dirty tricks.

After the CIA in Japan, Buckley was ready to publish his own magazine, *The National Review*. This was an unusual opportunity to bring together the world's most conservative writers for publication and much propaganda accompanied by Buckley's glib innuendoes.

Once the publication was going, Buckley decided to bring Young Americans for Freedom to the campus; old ideas, old money, and young minds to mold. Behind the project were always the well funded military masters, such as the YAF's Tom Charles Houston and the Cointel-Program Nixon cooked up.

The selected advisory Board for YAF was a Who's Who of oldies even then: Senator Strom Thurmond, Senator John Tower, Mr. Ronald Reagan, Professor Lev Dobriansky, General Charles Willoughby, and Mr. Robert Morris are a sample.

Robert Morris may not be a household name. But William Buckley knew him well, and Morris, Nixon, and Senator Joe McCarthy were team players. Senator Joe McCarthy's two strongest supporters for him to represent Wisconsin were Frank Seusenbrenner and Walter Harnishfeger. Both admired Adolf Hitler and made continuous trips to Germany.

Sen. McCarthy obliged fast enough. Before he went after the Commies in the State Department, he had to release a few of Hitler's elite Nazis lingering in the Dachau prison camp. McCarthy beat John McCloy by about three years.

In 1949, during Congressional hearings on the Malmedy Massacre, the bloody Battle of the Bulge, McCarthy invited himself to take over the entire testimony. He wasn't satisfied until the prison doors flew open. The most detestable and ugly battle of World War II, an assault upon Americans and civilians in Belgium, was ignored. Hitler's precious Generals Fritz Kraemer and Sepp Dietrick, along with Hermann Priess and many others, were free.

With that business finished, McCarthy took on Robert Morris as Chief Counsel for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Morris's earlier training in Navy Intelligence in charge of USSR counter-intelligence and psychological warfare could be utilized well by Senator Joe. Particularly the psychological warfare part.

After McCarthy died, Morris moved to Dallas, Texas. He was a judge, and became president of Dallas University.

In 1961, a year after Buckley founded YAF, another conservative organization was formed in Munich, Germany, calling itself CUSA, Conservatism USA. These were not students, but members of the U.S. army, soon to be mustered out, then to appear in Dallas, Texas, by November 1963. The host would be Robert Morris.

A correspondence between Larry Schmidt in Dallas, to Bernie

Photo by Wide World

Lee Harvey Oswald's benefactor was Texas oil millionaire George de Mohrenschildt

Weissman in Munich, Germany, in preparation for their arrival, was published in the *Warren Commission Hearings,* Volume XVII.

Segments of the letters are as follows:

November 2, 1962: Dallas to Munich, Larry Schmidt:

"Gentlemen we got everything we wanted."

"It saved the trouble of infiltration"

"Met with Frank McGee . . . (President of the Dallas Council of World Affairs.)"

"Suggest Bernie convert to Christianity and I mean it".

(Bernard Weissman, the only Jew, was brought all the way to Dallas on November 22, 1963, to lend his name to the "Wanted for Treason" fliers handed out to welcome JFK. He testified that the John Birch Society paid for the ads, and "wanted a Jewish name at the bottom".)

"We must all return to the church."

"These people are religious bugs"

"I think in terms of 300,000 members, $3,000,000."

"The John Birch Society has a million members. Look for us to merge with them in 1964."

"Arrangements are being made for me to meet the heads of the Dallas John Birch, General Walker, and H.L. Hunt, Texas oil millionaire."

(General Walker had been retired from the military by John Kennedy for his compulsory Pro-Blud indoctrination."

"I have already met the top editors of the Dallas Morning News, the country's most conservative newspaper".

"These people are radicals but there is a method in their madness. You see, they're all after exactly what we're after."

"No liberal talk whatsover, none".

"Down here a Negro is a nigger."

"I mean, no one is to ever say one kind word about niggers".

"Liberals are our enemies".

"The conservative isn't against the Niggers, he just wants to keep him in his place for his own good".

(Pres. John Kennedy and Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy had waged a bitter battle from Sept. 30 to Oct. 3, 1962, at the University of Mississippi. The integration of one Black student brought in the U.S. Army and caused Gen. Edwin Walker to be confined.)

January 4, 1963 Larry Schmidt to B. Weissman, Munich.

"I want big men . . . believe me if I have a dozen such men I can conquer the world".

"I will go down in the history books as a great and noble man, or a tyrant".

"I expect to see you here in Dallas, expecially Norman and Larry."

"If Jim Mosely is not here by Feb. 15, he is finished."

"One thing had best be understood, I am not playing games here in Dallas and expect you not to play games in Munich."

"I am not here in Dallas for my health or because I think Dallas is a wonderful place."

"Continue to have regular meetings and try to get things back in order in preparation for the big meetings."

February 2, 1963 Larry Schmidt

"We have succeeded, the mission with which I was charged in Dallas has been achieved."

"Friday night I attended a gathering of the top conservatives in Dallas."

"The meeting was at the home of Dr. Robert Morris, President of the Defenders of American Liberty."

"Present were Mr. George Ward, Detective for Dallas City Police, Mr. Ken Thompson, editorial writer for the Dallas Morning News, Mr. Clyde Moore, former PR man for H.L. Hunt, former UPI writer. (Eight others)"

"I told them exactly what I wanted"

"Others suggested using an already existing movement, name the Young Americans for Freedom, with already 50,000 members."

"CUSA, as set up in Munich, is now an established fact in Dallas, only we are calling it YAF. I think you catch on".

"We are starting Munich chapters of YAF. "To spread to Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Berlin, Kaiserslautern,"

"We are getting every top name in business, education, politics

and religion to endorse YAF".

"The advisory board includes 37 Congressmen . . . including Sen. Strom Thurmond, Sen. John Tower, and Sen. Barry Goldwater. There is Ronald Reagan, Gen. Mark Clark, Gen. Charles Willoughby, John Wayne, etc."

Change all your records to read YAF".

"All those months in Munich were not wasted. I accomplished my task in Dallas. I need you here soon. I sold these people on each of you and they are expecting you to come to Dallas and play an important role".

"The days of leisure are over".

"We want to see you, Norman, Jim and Bill Burley back here in Dallas".

"Sheila and my brother will be here in August; Ken Glazebrook in Sept."

June 13, 1963, Larry Schmidt to B. Weissman in Munich, Germany.

"Warren Carroll, our only other recruit to CUSA, is already a PhD and two MS's. Warren is a scripwriter for Lifeline, the H.L. Hunt television and radio series. Hunt is the millionaire oilman."

"Warren is 32, former CIA man. Don't worry, he has been checked out."

"Hunt checked him out".

(This appears to be a military action, DIA. They have to check out the CIA man, using Hunt's security).

After Jack Ruby was arrested for killing Oswald inside the Dallas jail, there were copies of Warren Carroll's Lifeline on the seat of his car. The section was on "Heroism", on how to become a "hero". This is interesting because one of the first reasons Ruby gave for killing Oswald was, "I wanted to show them a Jew had guts".

"We want to get Norman into the Republic National Bank . . . where we are building our credit like crazy for the day we need ready cash"

(The Dallas Republic National Bank was identified by the *Washing Post,* February 26, 1967, as a conduit of CIA funds since 1958.)

(Connie Trammel, who worked at the Republic National Bank, accompanied Jack Ruby to the office of Lamar Hunt, Wednesday, November 20, 1963, two days before Kennedy was assassinated.)

October 1, 1963, Larry Schmidt to Munich, Germany.

"I have a lot of contacts, bankers, insurance men, realtors"

"My brother began working as an aide to General Walker". "Paid full time."

"National Indignation Committee will merge in the Fall of 1963, as soon as Bernie and Norman are in Dallas".

"This is a top secret merger and is not to be discussed outside the movement".

October 29, 1963 Larry Schmidt to Munich, Germany.

"This town is a battleground and that is no joke. I am a hero to the right, a stormtrooper to the left".

"I have worked out a deal with the chairman of YAF. The arrangements are always delicate, very delicate. If I don't produce the bodies it is likely Dale (Davenport) to think me a phoney".

"He needs our help now. Adlai Stevenson is scheduled here on the 24th.

"Kennedy is scheduled in Dallas on November 24,"

"All big things are happening now."

1963: A few connections in Dallas—Gen. Walter Dornberger, Michael and Ruth Paine

When George de Mohrenschildt was busy introducing Lee and Marina to the Dallas-Ft. Worth White Russian displaced Czarists, he managed to keep the social level equal with his American contacts.

One casual dinner in the company of Michael and Ruth Paine, and that was enough meeting to set the Oswalds' course. George and Jeane didn't have to meet with them again.

Ruth Paine would provide housing for Marina while Lee went to New Orleans. A few weeks later, she drove Marina to join Lee. After summer vacation at Wood's Hole, Mass., Ruth returned and brought Marina to her home in Irving, Texas while Lee was on the bus to Mexico with Albert Osborne, John Bowen and four other Solidarists from the Russian network.

After Kennedy was murdered, the Dallas police rushed to the Paine's home. From that garage and elsewhere, via the Paines, came most of the incriminating evidence against Oswald.

The alleged murder weapon never could be proven by the Warren Commission as ever having come from their garage.

The cropped photo that *Life* printed with Oswald holding a rifle came from a box removed from the garage, taken to the police department, then returned the next day, with nobody present to indicate where it came from.

Accessory after the fact, the letter was delivered to Marina in December undated and unsigned, to cover up General Walker's anxiety to blame a "Communist", Lee, for shooting at him in April and came from Ruth to Marina. It wasn't in the home before then. The Warren Commission required planted evidence sometimes in order to divert from Lee Oswald's links to the Defense Department, assisted by Ruth and Michael Paine.

Michael Paine's occupation at Bell Aircraft is the Defense Department. This job requires security clearances, so what would the unlikely Oswalds be doing in his home? Oswald, the "defector?"

Paine's boss at Bell Aircraft as Director of Research and Development, was none other than the notorious war criminal General Walter Dornberger.

Dornberger was supposed to be hung at Nuremburg for his war crimes, slave labor and mass murders.

The British warned the U.S. not to let him live because even after the war he was conniving for another one. As stated, "Dornberger is a menace of the first order who is untrustworthy. His attitude will turn ally against ally and he would become a source of irritation and future unrest". *Project Paperclip.* Clarence Lansey.

The very first call to authorities after the gun went off on November 22, 1963, was from an employe at Bell Helicopter who suggested "Oswald did it". Police never located the source of both Oswald addresses that day.

Michael Paine took Lee to a meeting with General Edwin Walker shortly before the assassination. Soon Oswald would be charged with having shot Walker in April, and Walker would be calling his Nazi cronies in Germany 24 hours after JFK was killed, telling them he finally solved "who shot through his window" seven months earlier: the same Oswald.

Who were the Paines? To believe the Warren Commission and the CIA staff of lawyers, they were Mr. and Mrs. Good Neighbor, all heart, altruistic. Ruth simply wanted to learn more Russian from a native. For that price, she housed Marina, a two year old daughter, a new infant, with all the fuss and mess of three extras in a tiny house.

Michael Paine was a descendant of the Cabots on both sides. His cousin Thomas Dudley Cabot, former President of United Fruit, had offered their Gibraltar Steamship as a cover for the CIA during the Bay of Pigs. Another cousin was Alexander Cochrane Forbes, a director of United Fruit and trustee of Cabot, Cabot, and Forbes.

Both Allen Dulles and John J. McCloy were part of the United Fruit team. The Paine family had links with circles of the OSS and the CIA.

Ruth Hyde Paine maintained close ties with the Forbes families. Peter Dale Scott investigated the Paines, "the patrician Paine and Forbes families". A far cry from anybody's neighbor.

Michael's education came as a tradition, third generation physicist at Harvard before working for Bell Helicopter.

The British were correct on the Dornberger evaluation.

Another clue to Albert Speer, the Reichmaster for Munitions and War Production, and General Dornberger, is their meeting as early as April, 1943.

When it was obvious to Hitler they would be losing the war against the USSR, all top Nazis made detailed plans for two years on how to proceed next.

Speer met with Dornberger, at Peenemunde, the missile and

rocket factory run with Werner Von Braun, and instructed him in "the dispersion of functions throughout the Reich".

Translated, that meant get ready to come to the U.S.

Lee Harvey Oswald, Albert Osborne

When Lee Harvey Oswald entered Mexico at Laredo, Texas, on September 26, 1963, his companion on the Red Arrow bus was Albert Osborne, alias John Howard Bowen.

Bowen-Osborne had been running a school for highly professional marksmen in Oaxaca, Mexico, since 1934. The cover for the place was his particular mission, and he was the missionary.

The FBI records on Bowen go back to June 4, 1942, in Henderson Springs, Tennessee. He operated a camp for boys known as "Campfire Council." Neighbors complained it was for pro-Nazi activities with young fascists. Bowen vehemently opposed the U.S. going to war with Nazi Germany. They stomped on the American flag.

Before that, Bowen worked for the Tennessee Valley Authority since 1933.

His dual citizenship between Great Britain and U.S. took him over the entire globe. So did his use of multiple aliases.

After the Warren Commission published their report in September 1964, several attornies in the Southwest recognized the name of Osborne.

September 8, 1952, Jake Floyd was murdered. The target was meant to be his father, District Judge Floyd. Two suspects were caught, one got away. Their testimony was about being hired by Osborne and how he ran the school for assassins.

Later investigation revealed Osborne's connections to Division V of the FBI, and to Clay Shaw's Centro Mandiale Commerciale, with funding coming from New Orleans for the CIA, Anti-Castro Cubans, and others.

Lee Harvey Oswald applied for a tourist card to enter Mexico while still in New Orleans on September 17, 1963.

Four other persons, having consecutive tourist numbers, departed nine days later, like Oswald, all to arrive at the same time, entering from several different cities. They were part of the White Russian Solidarists, the Gehlen emigre community that Lee and Marina mingled with.

This assassination team funded Maurice Brooks Gatlin, Guy Bannister, and the offices of Double Check Corporation in Miami.

J. Edgar Hoover's Division V, Domestic Intelligence, working with the American Council of Christian Churches, had used this group from the Bowen-Osborne academy of assassins.

Volume XXV of the Hearings has many pages of interviews with people who had sent money to Jack Bowen. They never met him, and some like Mrs. Bessie White, Pikesville, Tenn., mailed "$35 a month to John Howard Bowen who she believed had been doing missionary work for 18 years in Mexico". Osborne-Bowen had a mission.

Lee Harvey Oswald, agent from U.S. Defense Department, had a team of doubles impersonating his behavior, leaving trails of anti-American frustration and meetings with various people.

While Oswald was in Mexico just prior to Kennedy's murder, the purposes were concealed. Meanwhile, the CIA and various authorities led Oswald to the Cuban Embassy, the Soviet Embassy. When the face or voices didn't match the authentic Oswald, it didn't matter, given a different 40 to 50 pounds and shape, or the concealed voice conversations. What came from all this was the conclusion that Oswald had really wanted to go to Cuba next. Which Oswald, and why?

This was to finalize with the illusion of an Oswald-Castro admiration just days before Kennedy would be killed.

Senator John Tower and Marina Oswald

One of the most consistent conservatives among Buckley's YAF Advisory Board was Senator John Tower, Texas.

If there is anything he wouldn't want in his back yard it was a defector and his allegedly Communist wife from Minsk.

Yet, two years after joining the YAF team in 1960, Tower was passing all waivers in order for Marina Oswald to get to the United States as soon as possible. Without his permission, this trip might never have taken place. Many wives from the USSR are not that lucky.

March 22, 1962, Senator Tower cooperated. "The sanctions imposed on immigration and nationality are hereby waived in behalf of Mrs. Oswald. The file check on Marina by the FBI. CIA, Department of Security Office, Division of biographical intelligence and passport office", Volume XXIV 298.

George de Mohrenschildt testified in Volume IX, pages 228–229, "Marina Oswald's father had been a Czarist officer of some kind. I don't remember whether it was navy or army."

Her real father was never identified by name in all of the testimony.

Between 1948 and 1950 over 200 Byelorussian Nazis and their families were brought to New Jersey. Both George de Mohrenschildt and Marina had come from Minsk, part of the Byleorussian area.

The Gehlen Nazi emigres were useful to every part of the Kennedy assassination cover-up.

John Tower knew Marina was a safe bet. Otherwise, why the hurry? Our CIA, Defense Department knew all there was to know about both Oswalds. Therefore, Tower signed the immigration papers fast.

The Argentine Connections: Isaac Don Levine and the Ziger Family

The Warren Report wasn't published until September, 1964.

Testimony of witnesses and exhibits were being collected up to the day of printing.

Yet as early as June 2, 1964, Isaac Don Levine, another arch enemy of Communists and a so-called expert on the Soviet mind, was arranging with the Warren Commission staff to bring the daughters of Oswald's boss, Alexander Ziger, from the Minsk Radio factory to Argentina. He suggested using the CIA assistance.

What was that about?

"When the Oswalds left Russia they smuggled out a message to one of the relatives of the Zigers living in the U.S. They wanted help to get the Ziger's daughters out of Russia. The daughters, having been born in Argentina, could claim Argentine citizenship. Levine suggested some confidential source in the American Government such as the CIA should contact the Argentine Government to set machinery in motion. *Memorandum from W. David Slauson: Conference with Mr. Isaac Don Levine, May 23, 1964.*

January 21, 1964, John J. McCloy told Commission members, before any witness was yet called, "this fellow Levine is a contact with Marina to break the story up in a little more graphic manner and tie it into a Russian business, and it is with the thought and background of a Russian connections, conspiracy concept".

If there was a Russian conspiracy to kill President John Kennedy, John McCloy, Isaac Don Levine, Allen Dulles and J. Edgar Hoover, not to speak of Nixon and others, would squeeze that out.

Remember Gary Powers strongly hinted at Oswald's role in downing the U-2, breaking up the Eisenhower-Khrushchev meeting while Lee was employed at the Minsk Radio factory?

Nicola Malaxa, Otto Shorzeny, and international CIA-DIA agents were thick in both Minsk and Argentina. It was Alexander Ziger and his family who introduced Lee to Marina Oswald. That same evening they were at the home of an unident tied woman just returned from the U.S.

The President of the U.S. had been murdered in 1963.

Six months later the CIA is supposed to assist the Ziger daughters?

One more connection to Richard Nixon.

When poor Whittaker Chambers almost collapsed from the strain of having to testify against Alger Hiss, it was Isaac Don Levine who took "Chambers by the arm, a reluctant Chambers, and arranged the meetings where he would begin to smear Hiss". *Friendship and Fraticide,* Meyer Zelig.

While Levine was searching for a Soviet connection to Kennedy's death, he was also doing business with Marina's new manag-

er, James Martin. It was Martin who was selling the photo of Oswald posing with Communist literature and a rifle, the same evidence pulled from the Paine's garage. Notice the similarity to the Whittaker Chambers pumpkin papers years earlier that launched Nixon's political career and convicted Alger Hiss.

If the evidence didn't fit the conclusions of the investigators, the one picture would sell the Oswald assassin story.

"Treason For My Daily Bread"—Argentina and Martin Bormann

In August, 1971, a French paper headlined a news story, "Martin Bormann behind the Kennedy murders". It listed an international band of killers that was located in Texas. They carried out the two assassinations at the German command.

Six years later, June 8, 1977, the London Guardian reported, "Bormann Linked with Kennedy Murder". This story was based on a new book titled, *"Treason For My Daily Bread"* by Mikhail Lebedev.

Lebedev detailed how Martin Bormann left Europe, established his current life in Paraguay, and how the fatal head shot to Kennedy was delivered by an agent paid by Bormann, alias of Zed.

Is any of this true?

Many of these allegations and names come together with both Paris Flammonde's *"The Kennedy Conspiracy"* and the *"Nomenclature of an Assassination Cabal"*, known as the Torbitt Document.

"Zed" allegedly used a .45 for the final shot.

Buddy Walters, murdered January 10, 1969, picked up a .45 slug in Dealey Plaza and gave it to the Dallas Police.

There were two possible assassination teams in Dallas.

The military from Munich, Germany, that was to take over the YAF, with Robert Morris's help, have yet to be identified or interviewed. (Morris from U.S. Intelligence, having to do with USSR covert work.) Gen. Edwin Walker's arrangement with U.S. Military in Germany or, the arrival of such people for November 22, 1963, is open to question.

Albert Osborne's "mission" in Mexico, with direct links to Clay Shaw's Centro Mondiale Commericale, has never been touched. This was the international band of killers with the Borghese-James Angleton operations working throughout the world.

Otto Skorzeny's CIA and Reinhard Gehlen death squads, with headquarters in Madrid, were funded by Martin Bormann when the Evita Peron funds were shared after 1952.

Lebedev mentions "Ruth", David Ferrie, Clay Shaw, Guy Bannister and Colonel Orlov.

The very first day George de Mohrenschildt visited Marina Oswald she was alone and Lee was working. He brought with him a "Colonel Orlov."

The House Select Committee on Assassinations "investigated" the murder of President John F. Kennedy from 1976–1978. The information about Bormann was available from 1971. *"Treason For My Daily Bread"* was published while they were supposed to be finding the smoking gun.

G. Robert Blakey, Chief Consul for the Committee, refused to admit any research or documents on these subjects. He would hang up the telephone and even refused to say if he had ever seen the Torbit Document.

Six million dollars was allotted by Congress to investigate the assassination of President Kennedy. Martin Bormann may have had his motives for his actions through the years.

What were G. Robert Blakey's?

What form of prosecution should be suggested for committees paid to uncover the truth who continuously sweep under the rug?

In *A Study of a Master Spy*, published in London in 1961, Bob Edwards, a member of Parliament and Kenneth Dunne, presented documentary evidence that Allen Dulles of the CIA carried on secret conferences with representatives of Hitler's SS Security Office in February and March 1943. They learned that "Official Washington knew Martin Bormann, Deputy Fuhrer of Hitler's Germany, master minded the international 'Die Spinne' (Spider) underground organization which is planning to revive Nazism as soon as West Germany is adequately rearmed by the United States. Official Washington seems disinterested".

With John J. McCloy, Allen Dulles and J. Edgar Hoover in control of the Kennedy assassination investigation, these Nazi connections were buried.

The Bunge Corporation, Argentina and Germany

The stock market dropped 24 points in 27 minutes when news of President Kennedy's assassination was announced. 2.6 million shares were sold off. It was the greatest panic since 1929.

Somebody made a huge profit selling short in many markets.

Somebody made half a billion dollars in one day. Coincidentally, the Allied Crude Vegetable Oil Refining Corporation, headed by New Jersey commodities dealer Anthony De Angeles, crashed the same day, driving the market down.

Allied Crude was controlled by U.S. American Bunge Corpora-

The CIA's Man: The Chronology of Helmet Streikher

1937: Trained for the Gustapo's *S.S.* Officers. A graduate of The University of Boon Germany. Went to Military School at Blutordensburg, located at Vogelsang Castle.

1938: Assigned to Spain to join General Francisco Franco.

1939–1940: In the U.S. he learned English and American customs. His cover was as a German journalist working for Adolph Hitler.

1940–1941: Was with Reinhard Gehlen in Eastern Europe. He will join Gehlen when they are both working for Army intelligence.

1943–1945: Streikher worked with Skorzeny.

1945: May 7, 1945, Streikher surrenders to Allies and is cleared for intelligence, accepted for U.S. Army by October 1945.

1946–1947: He works for the OSS (Officers of Strategic Services) in Europe, Central Intelligence Group. CIG.

1948–1950: Streikher was stationed in Israel, Greece, Europe, Africa and Middle East. OSS becomes CIA.

1951–1957: CIA assigned back to General Gehlen, now in his German offices of the *BND.*

1958: In the U.S. Training Army Intelligence offices and CIA.

1958–1961: Helps plan Cuban Invasion. Active in the Bay of Pigs.

1961–1965: He was in Africa, Middle East,and United States on CIA assignment. On November 22, 1963, he said, "One of the worst kept secrets in the C, is the truth about the President's murder. It wasn't Castro or the Russians. The men who killed Mr. Kennedy were CIA contract agents."

"John Kennedy's murder was a two-part conspiracy murder. One was the action end with the killers; the other was the deeper part, the acceptance and protection of that murder by the Intelligence aparatus that controls the way the world operates."

"It had to happen. The man was too independent for his own good."

1968–1970: Senior Field Agent for CIA. Disguised as a writer.

1971–1973: Back in the United States. Langley, Virginia, training and making plans under assignment.

1974–1977: Under George Bush, director of CIA, Streikher sent to Africa and Middle East.

1978–1980: Contract agent on special assignment for CIA. June 15, 1980 he retired.

Other Known Aliases: U.S. Army officer Captain William Raine, also known as Ross Meyers, Hans Mollof, Karl Rolff, and Mark Schmidt. He had nine (9) other pieces of identification in other names and nationalities, some in the form of passports.

tion and financially controlled by a group of share-holders headquartered in Argentina, known as "Bunge and Born, LDA".

Business Week of October 19, 1963, one month before the Kennedy assassination, described the Born family in Argentina, the biggest shareholders for Bunge, as being from Europe, specifically Germany.

Everything about Bunge has German influence. They have a two billion annual business in eighty countries. There are over one hundred and ten offices, all linked by Telex and under-the-ocean telegraph channels. The Bunge Corporation is referred to as "The Octopus".

The book *Were We Controlled?* detailed the relationship of the Bunge Corporation, the foreknowledge of Kennedy's murder, and the Argentine-German connections.

General Edwin Walker and the Hitler Nazis

The Eagle's Nest, now a mountain restaurant, was given to Adolf Hitler by Nazi aide Martin Bormann for the Fuehrer's 50th birthday. It is not far from Hitler's former summer home in Berchtesgaden.

Nearby is the Platterhof Hotel, built for quests when they came to pay their respects. The Platterhof has changed its name to the General Walker Hotel.

November 23, 1963, one day after Kennedy's death, Gen. Edwin Walker called Munich, Germany, from Shreveport, La.

Walker's important story, via transatlantic telephone, was to the Nazi newspaper Deutsche National Zeitung und Soldaten-Zeitung. Walker couldn't wait to tell them in Munich that Lee Harvey Oswald, the lone suspect in the Dallas murders, was the same person who shot through his window in April, 1963.

There was never one shred of evidence, or a reliable witness, that could make this connection. Dallas police and FBI were taken by surprise.

In order to cover this over-exhuberance of trying to link a Marxist assassin to this altercation, it became necessary to have Ruth Paine deliver that ridiculous letter to Marina Oswald on December 3, 1964. The delayed letter was to have been written the night Lee was out shooting in Walker's home.

The only piece of bullet that remained in custody was never positively identified as coming from the 6.5 Mannlicher Carcano, and there is no proof Oswald even handled this rifle.

Why was General Walker in such a hurry to get his information printed in Germany before anybody in Dallas ever heard about it?

Kurt-George Kiesinger had just been installed as Chancellor of West Germany and Franz-Josef Straus as finance Minister.

Kiesinger entered the radio propaganda division of Nazi Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop at age 36. He was then directing a world-wide radio propaganda apparatus with 195 specialists under his supervision during the war. He was the liason officer, coordinating his department's work with that of Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels.

Richard Nixon and Kurt-George Kiesinger were soon, or maybe before, to become pals. Nixon tried to hide his Nazi past.

But General Walker, now home from military service in Munich, knew the importance of such propaganda. He was calling the same people who, under Hitler, published and controlled the newspapers.

There were two motives for this call.

First, it gave international attention to the fact that Oswald, the Marxist gunman, was shooting at Walker as well as the President.

General Walker knew too many people in the Defense Department and in the Dallas-Ft. Worth area that could be part of this assassination. He made himself appear as a victim instead of a suspect.

The other reason, along with the expertise of Robert Morris's counter-intelligence and psychological warfare training, was to create a profile for Lee Harvey Oswald.

No possible motive could explain why Oswald would really want to kill President Kennedy. By having Oswald appear to shoot the right-wing General Walker with his John Birch connections, his militant anti-communist stance, then shoot John Kennedy, the same Commie-symp Walker was accusing of treason, it would appear that Oswald was just nuts. He didn't know right from left.

The Munich newspaper Walker called was linked to the World Movement for a Second Anti-Komintern, part of the Gehlen and U.S. right.

Some of Hitler's ex-Nazis and SS-men were on the staff.

The editor, Gerhard Frey, was a close friend with various Nazi members of the Witiko League. The Witiko League and the Sudetendeutche Landsmannscraft were organizations for displaced refuges. By the summer of 1948 they formed large organizations and by 1955 Dr. Walter Becher was elected to the executive board of the Witiko League. Becher was one of the kingpins of Nazi front organizations.

Sen. Joe McCarthy, Charles Willoughby, Gen. Edwin Walker, and Robert Morris's links to the German Nazis converged when Dr. Walter Becher set up offices in Washington D.C. in 1950.

By July 16, 1957, Becher, praised by American Opinion and other extreme right publications, started his policy of liberation. General Douglas Mac Arthur, Senator Joe McCarthy, General Willoughby, members of U.S. Congress or public officials then started openly to meet with, and cooperate with the Nazi resurgence.

Dan Smoot, former Dallas FBI agent is the type of person who kept strong Nazi ties from Dr. Becher in Munich, to Western Goals today. His printed sheets were identical to the Goebbels propaganda years ago, or to Walker's disinformation one day after Kennedy was killed.

Volkmar Schmidt came from Munich, Germany, to work full time for General Walker. How long did he work, and where was he on November 23, 1963, when Walker made the call to the same city the CUSA imports came from?

The YAF crowd in Dallas was an interesting gang: Col. Charles Willoughby, Intelligence Chief for S. Pacific. Robert Morris, U.S. counter-intelligence and psychological warfare. General Edwin Walker, brought home from Munich by JFK. William Buckley, CIA in Japan, Mexico, and elsewhere. Sen. John Tower, who gave the OK for Marina Oswald.

1964: The Warren Commission

President Lyndon Jonnson was forced to select a commission to investigate the assassination of President Kennedy and the murder of Lee Harvey Oswald by Jack Ruby.

Texas authorities were supposed to do the original investigation.

There were too many suspicious people around the world who believed a conspiracy existed. Those rumors had to be squelched.

J. Edgar Hoover's FBI never budged from its conclusion that Lee Harvey acted alone. Whatever evidence didn't fit this decision was ignored.

Twenty-six volumes of witness testimony and exhibits were published. Eight-thousand copies were sold. No more reprints. The contradiction between the conclusions of the final *Warren Report*, and the abundance of discrepancies in the other volumes, makes fascinating reading.

Chief Justice Earl Warren, John J. McCloy, and Allen Dulles were the logical choices for LBJ.

President Kennedy didn't trust Allen Dulles as CIA Director. Now JFK was dead and Dulles would be in charge of all possible "conspiracy" segments.

Richard Nixon, temporarily retired from politics for the first time since 1946, selected Rep. Gerald Ford to be on this Commission. Nixon selected Ford a second time when he ran home to escape impeachment during Watergate.

One of the first subjects for commission members to share in January, one month before witnesses were selected, was the matter of Lee Harvey Oswald being a government agent.

Gerald Ford was the only member of the group to write a book on the assassination. His book opened with the hushed and secret meeting where allegations had been received that Oswald worked for the FBI.

What Ford left out of his book, and the commission ignored in

Photo by Manuel Gonzales Bustos

Gehlen after the 1972 funeral of Wehrmacht Col. Gen. Franz Halder

their Report, was that Oswald was also identified as working for the CIA. Commission Chairman Earl Warren and Commission Attorney Leon Jaworski knew about this. They stated that "Mr. Belli, attorney for Jack L. Ruby, was familiar with these allegations."

Oswald's informant number was Number 110669.

How was that for a starter?

The next move was to start building the myth about the deceased and ignore fact one, stated above. This grand commission would call in a doctor who never met Lee Oswald or Jack Ruby. To assist them with their project, covering up.

Justice Warren suggested bringing in Dr. Overholser, who "of course is not a lawyer. He is a doctor from St. Elizabeths Hospital." As the Chairman went on to explain, "we felt we ought to have someone who, in that field, could advise us on matters concerning the life of Oswald and possibly the life of Ruby also."

The next order of business was who should write the Report for them? By January 21, 1964, that had to be decided.

Chairman Earl Warren said, "we consulted with the Defense Department, and they have offered to lend us one of their historians to do this job, and we think that it is quite essential to the work of the Commission." Mr. Goldberg would assist from the Air Force. Mr. Cokely was with the Army.

"Mr. Winnaker recommended them," Chief Counsel J. Lee Rankin offered "We would work with them and try to anticipate all of the various historical aspects".

"Who's Who in the CIA" described "Mr. Winnaker" as having been born in Germany in 1904. His full name is Dr. Rudolph August Winnacker. He was an analyst for the OSS, historian in the War Department from 1945-1949, and then Chief of Historical Division of Pentagon."

Was Winnaker the ilk of Willoughby? Or Reinhard Gehlen? When did he come here from Germany? Where is he now?

Marina Oswald was the first witness to testify on February 3, 1964.

Warren wanted nothing more than to make her comfortable.

The first question dealt with the General Walker story because Walker had blown it by calling Munich so soon. That scandal had to be put to rest right away.

Warren asked Marina "if Exhibit 2 was familiar to her because it was a picture of General Walker's house?"

Marina said, "no", but that wasn't good enough.

She was asked again, and once more said, "I didn't see it, at least, taken from this view I can't recognize it, I never saw the house itself at any time in my life."

That wasn't sufficient. She just couldn't remember "this particular one."

Chairman Warren was ready to go "off the record."

They had only just begun.

Chief Counsel Rankin suggested he show her "more pictures," then maybe she would recognize the Walker home.

This time she was given a selection of a location in New Orleans, two snapshots from Leningrad, and the same shot of the Walker home. Because Walker wasn't living in a castle in Leningrad, Marina assumed that house in Dallas must belong to "General Walker."

Therefore this was admitted for identification.

The Defense Department history could then proceed. "Marina Oswald positively identified the photograph of General Walker's home among Lee's possessions."

There are a lot of things that remain to be said about this commission and their phoney report.

Admission of an old card trick at the beginning set the tone for what was to follow. What was never supposed to come out was the use of the Reinhard Gehlen agents surrounding Lee and Marina Oswald for the purposes of covering up the assassination conspiracy.

Two Lee Harvey Oswalds existed.

One memorized the Marine manual by age 17, went directly into radar and electronic work. He trained at U-2 bases, learned the Russian language, got himself into and out of the Soviet Union, wrote clear and literate letters. He was met, upon arriving home, by Government agents, provided with occupations, fathered two children, owned no debts, traveled around a great deal, met with interesting oil geologists, defense department and intelligence agents. Their social circle included the "Cabots and Lodges" from Czarist Russia, Admirals, and some fancy folks.

The other Oswald was one developed by the Warren Commission to divert attention from the facts. Nobody ever saw the original "diary" that he couldn't have possibly written.

Every Gehlen witness and emigre associated with the CIA, Tolstoy Foundation, or Greek Orthodox Church was directed towards the most ridiculous questions. From all that garbage the *Defense Department wrote the history.*

The last thing that should happen is for the warriors to interpret and define for us. The facts speak for themselves. □

Mae Brussell is a researcher based in Carmel, California. Her weekly radio program, World Watchers, has been broadcast for the last thirteen years.

DISAPPEARING WITNESSES

DISAPPEARING WITNESSES

By Penn Jones, Jr.

Shortly after dark on Sunday night November 24, 1963, after Ruby had killed Lee Harvey Oswald, a meeting took place in Jack Ruby's apartment in Oak Cliff, a suburb of Dallas, Texas. Five persons were

present. George Senator and Attorney Tom Howard were present and having a drink in the apartment when two newsmen arrived. The newsmen were Bill Hunter of the *Long Beach California Press Telegram*, and Jim Koethe of the *Dallas Times Herald*. Attorney C. A. Droby of Dallas arranged the meeting for the two newsmen. Jim Martin, a close friend of George Senator's, was also present at the apartment meeting.

This writer asked Martin if he thought it was unusual for Senator to forget the meeting while testifying in Washington on April 22, 1964, since **Bill Hunter**, who was a newsman present at the meeting, was shot to death that very night. Martin grinned and said: "Oh, you're looking for a conspiracy."

I nodded yes and he grinned and said, "You will never find it."

I asked soberly, "Never find it, or not there?"

He added soberly, "Not there."

Bill Hunter, a native of Dallas and an award winning newsman in Long Beach, was on duty and reading a book in the police station called "Public Safety Building." Two policemen going off duty came into the press room, and one policeman shot Hunter through the heart at a range officially ruled to be "no more than three feet." The policeman said he dropped his gun, and it fired as he picked it up, but the angle of the bullet caused him to change his story. He finally said he was playing a game of quick draw with his fellow officer. The other officer testified he had his back turned when the shooting took place.

Hunter, who covered the assassination for his paper, the *Long Beach Press Telegram*, had written:

Over 100 murders, suicides, mysterious deaths—the strange fate of those who saw Kennedy shot.

Lee Harvey Oswald—murdered
Photo by Wide World

Jim Koethe—murdered

Dorothy Killgallen—murdered
Photo by Wide World

"Within minutes of Ruby's execution of Oswald, before the eyes of millions watching television, at least two Dallas attorneys appeared to talk with him."

Hunter was quoting **Tom Howard** who died of a heart attack in Dallas a few months after Hunter's own death. Lawyer Tom Howard was observed acting strangely to his friends two days before his death. Howard was taken to the hospital by a "friend" according to the newspapers. No autopsy was performed.

Dallas Times Herald reporter **Jim Koethe** was killed by a karate chop to the throat just as he emerged from a shower in his apartment on September 21, 1964. His murderer was not indicted.

What went on in that significant meeting in Ruby's and Senator's apartment?

Few are left to tell. There is no one in authority to ask the question, since the Warren Commission has made its final report, and The House Select Committee has closed its investigation.

Dorothy Kilgallen was another reporter who died strangely and suddenly after her involvement in the Kennedy assassination. Miss Kilgallen is the only journalist who was granted a private interview with Jack Ruby after he killed Lee Harvey Oswald. Judge Joe B. Brown granted the interview during the course of the Ruby trial in Dallas—to the intense anger of the hundreds of other newspeople present.

We will not divulge exactly what Miss Kilgallen did to obtain the interview with Ruby. But Judge Brown bragged about the price paid. Only that was not the real price Miss Kilgallen paid. She gave her life for the interview. Miss Kilgallen stated that she was "going to break this case wide open."

She died on November 8, 1965. Her autopsy report took eight days. She was 52 years old. Two days later **Mrs. Earl T. Smith**, a close friend of Miss Kilgallen's died of undetermined causes.

Tom Howard, who died of a heart attack, was a good friend of District Attorney Henry Wade, although they often opposed each other in court. Howard was close to Ruby and other fringes of the Dallas underworld.

Like Ruby, Howard's life revolved around the police station, and it was not surprising when he and Ruby (toting his gun) showed up at the station on the evening of the assassination of President Kennedy. Nor was it unusual when Howard arrived at the jail shortly after Ruby shot Oswald, asking to see his old friend.

Howard was shown into a meeting room to see a bewildered Ruby who had not asked for a lawyer. For the next two days—until Ruby's brother, Earl, soured on him, and had Howard relieved—he was Jack Ruby's chief attorney and public spokesman.

Howard took to the publicity with alacrity, called a press conference, wheeled and dealed. He told newsmen the case was a "once-in-a-lifetime chance," and that "speaking as a private citizen," he thought Ruby deserved a Congressional medal. He told the *Houston Post* that Ruby had been in the police station Friday night (November 22, 1963) with a gun. Howard dickered with a national magazine for an Oswald murder story. He got hold of a picture showing the President's brains flying out of the car, and tried to sell it to *Life* magazine. Ruby's sister, Eva Grant, even accused Howard of leaking information to the DA. It was never quite clear whether Howard was working for Ruby or against him.

On March 27, 1965, Howard was taken to a hospital by an unidentified person and died there. He was 48. The doctor, without benefit of an autopsy, said he had suffered a heart attack. Some reporters and friends of Howard's were not so certain. Some said he was "bumped off."

Earlene Roberts was the plump widow who managed the rooming house where Lee Harvey Oswald was living un-

Warren Reynolds—murdered
Photo by Wide World

Hank Killam's jugular vein was cut and he bled to death *Photo by Wide World*

der the name O. H. Lee. She testified before the Warren Commission that she saw Oswald come home around one o'clock, go to his room for three or four minutes and walk out zipping his light weight jacket. A few minutes later, a mile away, officer **J. D. Tippit** was shot dead.

Mrs. Roberts testified that while Oswald was in his room, two uniformed cops pulled up in front of the rooming house and honked twice—"Just tit tit," she said.

The police department issued a report saying all patrol cars in the area, except Tippit's, were accounted for. The Warren Commission let it go at that.

After testifying in Dallas in April 1964, Mrs. Roberts was subjected to intensive police harassment. They visited her at all hours of the day and night. Earlene complained of being "worried to death" by the police. She died on January 9, 1966 in Parkland Hospital (the hospital where President Kennedy was taken). Police said she suffered a heart attack in her home. No autopsy was performed.

Warren Reynolds was minding his used car lot on East Jefferson Street in Oak Cliff in Dallas, when he heard shots two blocks away. He thought it was a marital quarrel. Then he saw a man having a great difficulty tucking "a pistol or an automatic" in his belt, and running at the same time. Reynolds gave chase for a short piece being careful to keep his distance, then lost the fleeing man. He didn't know it then, but he had apparently witnessed the flight of the killer (or one of the killers) of patrolman Jefferson David Tippit. Feeling helpful, he gave his name to a passing policeman and offered his cooperation. Television cameras zeroed in on him, got his story, and made him well known. Warren Reynolds, the amiable used car man, was making history.

Reynolds was not questioned until two months after the event. The FBI finally talked to him in January 1964. The FBI interview report said, " . . . he was hesitant to definitely identify Oswald as the individual." Then it added, "He advised he is of the opinion Oswald is the person."

Two days after Reynolds talked to the FBI, he was shot in the head. He was closing up his used car lot for the night at the time. Nothing was stolen. Later after consulting retired General Edwin Walker (the man Oswald allegedly shot at before he assassinated President Kennedy), he told the Warren Commission Counsel that Oswald was definitely the man he saw fleeing the Tippit murder scene.

A young hood was arrested for the murder attempt. Darrell Wayne Garner had called a relative bragging that he shot Reynolds. But Garner had an alibi. **Nancy Jane Mooney**, alias Betty McDonald, who said Garner was in bed with her at the time he was supposed to have shot Reynolds. Nancy Jane had worked at Jack Ruby's Carousel Club. Garner was freed.

Nancy Jane was picked up a week later for fighting with a girlfriend. She was arrested for disturbing the peace. The girlfriend was not arrested. Within hours after her arrest, Nancy Jane was dead. Police reports said she hanged herself with her toreador pants.

Reynolds and his family were harassed and threatened. But upon giving the Warren Commission a firm identification of Oswald as being the Tippit murder fugitive, he said, "I don't think they are going to bother me any more."

Hank Killam was a house painter who lived at Mrs. A.C. Johnson's rooming house at the same time Lee Harvey Oswald lived there. His wife, Wanda, once pushed cigarettes and drinks at Jack Ruby's club.

Hank was a big man, over six feet and weighing over 200 pounds. After the assassination, federal agents visited him repeatedly causing him to lose one job after another.

Killam was absorbed by the assassination, even obsessed. Hours after the event, he came home, "white as a sheet." Wanda said he stayed up all night watching the television accounts of the assassination. Later he bought all the papers and clipped the stories about Kennedy's death.

Before Christmas, Killam left for Florida. Wanda confessed where he was. Federal agents hounded him in Tampa, Florida where he was working selling cars at his brother-in-law's car lot. He lost his job.

Killam wrote Wanda that he would be sending for her soon. He received a phone call on St. Patrick's day. He left the house immediately. He was found later on a sidewalk in front of a broken window. His jugular vein was cut. He bled to death en route to the hospital.

There is no mention of Killam by the Warren Commission. A number of FBI documents on Killam relating to the assassination were withheld, along with documents prepared by the CIA. What is clear is that SOMEBODY considered Hank Killam a very important guy.

William Whaley was known as the "Oswald Cabbie." He was one of the few who had the opportunity to talk alone with the accused killer of President Kennedy. He testified that Oswald hailed him at the Dallas Greyhound bus station. Whaley said he drove Oswald to the intersection of Beckley and Neches—half a block from the rooming house—and collected a dollar. Later he identified Oswald as his fare in a questionable police line-up.

Whaley was killed in a head-on collision on a bridge over the Trinity River, Decem-

ber 18, 1965; his passenger was critically injured. The 83 year old driver of the other car was also killed. Whaley had been with the City Transportation Company since 1936 and had a perfect driving record. He was the first Dallas cabbie to be killed on duty since 1937. When I went to interview the manager of the cab company about Whaley's death, he literally pushed me out of the office, "If you're smart, you won't be coming around here asking questions."

Domingo Benavides, an auto mechanic, was witness to the murder of Officer Tippit. Benavides testified he got a "really good view of the slayer."

Benavides said the killer resembled newspaper pictures of Oswald, but he described him differently, "I remember the back of his head seemed like his hairline went square instead of tapered off . . ."

Benavides reported he was repeatedly threatened by the police who advised him not to talk about what he saw.

In mid-February 1964, his brother **Eddy**, who resembled him, was fatally shot in the back of the head at a beer joint on Second Avenue in Dallas. The case was marked "unsolved."

Benavides's father-in-law **J. W. Jackson** was not impressed by the investigation. He began his own inquiry. Two weeks later, J.W. Jackson was shot at his home. As the gunman escaped, a police car came around the block. It made no attempt to follow the speeding car with the gunman.

The police advised that Jackson should "lay off this business." "Don't go around asking questions; that's our job." Jackson and Benavides are both convinced that Eddy's murder was a case of mistaken identity and that Domingo Benavides, the Tippit witness was the intended victim.

Lee Bowers's testimony is perhaps as explosive as any recorded by the Warren Commission. He was one of the 65 witnesses who saw the President's assassination, and who thought shots were fired from the area of the Grassy Knoll. (The Knoll is west of the Texas School Book Depository Building.) But more than that, he was in a unique position to observe some pretty strange behavior in the Knoll area before and during the assassination.

Bowers, then a towerman for the Union Terminal Co., was stationed in his 14 foot tower directly behind the Grassy Knoll. He faced the scene of the assassination. He could see the railroad overpass to his right. Directly in front of him was a parking lot and a wooden stockade fence, and a row of trees running along the top of the Grassy Knoll. The Knoll sloped down to the spot on Elm Street where the President was killed. Police had "cut off" traffic into the parking lot, Bowers said, "so that anyone moving around could actually be observed."

Bowers made two significant observations which he revealed to the Warren Commission. First, he saw three unfamiliar cars slowly cruising around the parking area in the 35 minutes before the assassination; the first two left after a few minutes. The driver of the second car appeared to be talking into a "mike or telephone"; "he was holding something up to his mouth with one hand and he was driving with the other." A third car with out-of-state license plates and mud up to the windows, probed all around the parking area. Bowers last remembered seeing it about eight minutes before the shooting, pausing "just above the assassination site."

Bowers also observed two unfamiliar men standing on the top of the Knoll at the edge of the parking lot, within 10 or 15 feet of each other. "One man, middle aged or slightly older, fairly heavy set, in a white shirt, fairly dark trousers. Another man, younger, about mid-twenties, in either a plaid shirt or plaid coat or jacket." Both were facing toward Elm and Houston in anticipation of the motorcade. The two were the only strangers he remembered seeing. His description shows a remarkable similarity to Julia Ann Mercer's description of two unidentified men climbing the Knoll.

When the shots rang out, Bowers's attention was drawn to the area where he had seen the two men; he could still make out the one in the white shirt: "The darker dressed man was too hard to distinguish from the trees."

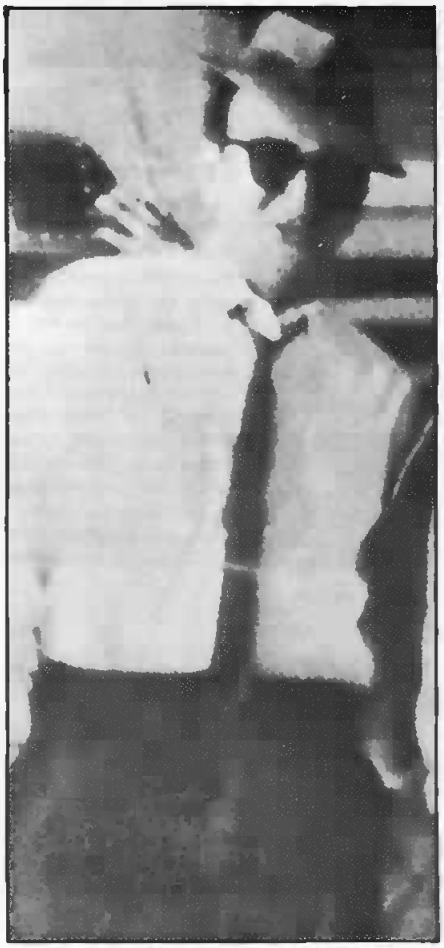
Bowers observed "some commotion" at that spot . . .," " . . . something out of the ordinary, a sort of milling around . . . which attracted my eye for some reason which I could not identify." At that moment, a motorcycle policeman left the Presidential motorcade and roared up the Grassy Knoll, straight to where the two mysterious gentlemen were standing. Later, Bowers testified that the "commotion" that caught his eye may have been a "flash of light or smoke."

On the morning of August 9, 1966, Lee Bowers, vice president of a construction firm, was driving south of Dallas on business. He was two miles south of Midlothian, Texas when his brand new company car veered from the road and hit a bridge abutment. A farmer who saw it, said the car was going about 50 miles an hour, a slow speed for that road.

Bowers died in a Dallas hospital. He was 41. There was no autopsy and he was cremated. A doctor from Midlothian who rode to Dallas in the ambulance with Bowers, noticed something peculiar about the victim. "He was in some strange sort of

Lee Bowers died from "a strange sort of shock"

Jack Ruby, diagnosed with pneumonia, died 28 days later of cancer



David Ferrie died of brain hemorrhage

Robert L. Perrin took a dose of arsenic

Dr. Mary Stults Sherman was stabbed to death

Guy Bannister—heart attack

shock." The doctor said, "A different kind of shock than an accident victim experiences. I can't explain it. I've never seen anything like it."

When I questioned his widow, she insisted there was nothing suspicious, but then became flustered and said, "They told him not to talk."

Harold Russell was with Warren Reynolds when the Tippit shooting took place. Both men saw the Tippit killer escape. Russel was interviewed in January 1964, and signed a statement that the fleeing man was Oswald.

A few months after the assassination, Russell went back to his home near David, Oklahoma. In July of 1965, Russell went to a party with a female friend. He seemingly went out of his mind at the party and started telling everyone he was going to be killed. He begged friends to hide him. Someone called the police. When the policemen arrived, one of them hit Russell on the head with his pistol. Russell was then taken to a hospital where he was pronounced dead a few hours later: cause of death was listed as "heart failure."

Among others who died strangely were **James Worrell**, who died in a motorcycle accident on November 9, 1966. He saw a strange man run from the back door of the Texas School Book Depository shortly after the assassination.

Gary Underhill was shot. This death was ruled suicide on May 8, 1964. Underhill was a former CIA agent and claimed he knew who was responsible for killing President Kennedy.

Delilah Walle was a worker at Ruby's club. She was married only 24 days when her new husband shot her. She had been working on a book of what she supposedly knew about the assassination.

William "Bill" Waters died May 20, 1967. Police said he died of a drug overdose (demerol). No autopsy was performed. His mother said Oswald and Killam came to her home before the assassination and her son tried to talk Oswald and Killam out of being involved. Waters called FBI agents after the assassination. The FBI told him he knew too much and to keep his mouth shut. He was arrested and kept in Memphis in a county jail for eight months on a misdemeanor charge.

Albert Guy Bogard, an automobile salesman who worked for Downtown Lincoln Mercury, showed a new Mercury to a man using the name "Lee Oswald."

Shortly after Bogard gave his testimony to a Commission attorney in Dallas, he was badly beaten and had to be hospitalized. Upon his release, he was fearful for his safety. Bogard was from Hallsville, La. He was found dead in his car at the Hallsville, Cemetery on St. Valentine's day in 1966. A rubber hose was attached to the exhaust and the other end extending into the car. The ruling was suicide. He was just 41 years old.

Jack Ruby died of cancer. He was taken into the hospital with Pneumonia. Twenty eight days later, he was dead from cancer.

David Ferrie of New Orleans, before he could be brought to trial for his involvement in the Kennedy assassination, died of brain hemorrhage. Just what caused his brain hemorrhage has not been established. Ferrie was to testify in the famous Jim Garrison trial, but death prevented him.

Dr. Mary Stults Sherman, age 51, was found stabbed and burned in her apartment in New Orleans. Dr. Sherman had been working on a cancer experiment with Ferrie.

Another Ferrie associate, **Eladio Cerefine de Valle**, 43, died on the same day as Ferrie. His skull was split open; he was then shot. DeValle had used Ferrie as a pilot. DeValle had been identifying some men in a photo taken in New Orleans for Jim Garrison. One of the men in the photo was Lee Harvey Oswald.

Paul Dyer, of the New Orleans Police

George de Mohrenschildt died of gunshot wounds

Buddy Walthers was shot through the heart by an escaped prisoner

force, died of cancer. He was the first police officer to interview Ferrie. **Martin** got sick on the job and died a month later of cancer. He had just interviewed David Ferrie.

News reporters were not exempt either. Two lady reporters died strangely. **Lisa Howard** supposedly committed suicide. She knew a great deal about the "understanding" which was in the making after the Bay of Pigs, between President Kennedy and the Cubans.

Marguerite Higgins bluntly accused the American authorities of the November 2nd, 1963 killing of Premier Diem and his brother Nhu. A few months after her accusation, she died in a landmine explosion in Vietnam.

On Saturday November 23, 1963, **Jack Zangetty**, the manager of a $150,000 modular motel complex near Lake Lugert, Oklahoma, remarked to some friends that "Three other men—not Oswald—killed the President." He also stated that "A man named Ruby will kill Oswald tomorrow and in a few days a member of the Frank Sinatra family will be kidnapped just to take some of the attention away from the assassination."

Two weeks later, Jack Zangetty was found floating in Lake Lugert with bullet holes in his chest. It appeared to witnesses he had been in the water one to two weeks.

Lou Staples, a radio announcer who was doing a good many of his radio shows on the Kennedy assassination, lost his life sometime on Friday night May 13, 1977. This was near Yukon, Oklahoma. He had been having radio shows on the assassination since 1973 and the response to his programs was overwhelming.

Lou's death was termed suicide, but the bullet ending his life entered behind his right temple and Lou was left handed. He joined **Gary Underhill**, **William Pitzer** and **Joe Cooper** whose "suicides" were all done with the "wrong hand" shots to the head.

Lou had been stating that he wanted to purchase some property to build a home. He was lured out to a wheat field and his life ended there. I have been to the spot where Lou died.

Karyn Kupcinet, daughter of Irv Kupcinet, was trying to make a long distance call from Los Angeles. According to reports, the operator heard Miss Kupcinet scream into the phone that President Kennedy was going to be killed.

Two days after the assassination, she was found murdered in her apartment. The case is unsolved. She was 23.

Rose Cherami, 40, was an employee of Jack Ruby's club. She was riding with two men on a return trip from Florida carrying a load of narcotics. She was thrown from the car when an argument began between her and one of the men. She was hospitalized for injuries and drug withdrawal. She told authorities that President Kennedy was going to be killed in Dallas. After her release from the hospital, she was a victim of a hit and run accident on September 4, 1965 near Big Sandy, Texas.

Robert L. Perrin was a gun runner for Jack Ruby. His wife, Nancy testified before the Warren Commission that Robert took a dose of arsenic in August 1962.

Guy Bannister was a private detective who was closely involved in the Jim Garrison trial. Guy and his partner, **Hugh Ward**, died within a 10 day period as the Warren Commission was closing its hearings. Guy supposedly died of a heart attack, but witnesses said he had a bullet hole in his body.

George deMohrenschildt was another man who was to give testimony but never made it. DeMohrenschildt, in his final days, became suspicious of everyone around him, even his wife, and was nearing a nervous breakdown some thought. He died of gun shot wounds. The verdict was suicide. But deMohrenschildt was a member of the White Russian society and very wealthy. He visited Lee Harvey Oswald and Marina Oswald when they lived on Neely Street. Marina visited the deMohrenschildts when she and Lee Harvey Os-

One by one Jim Garrison's witnesses met premature deaths

Clay Shaw died of unknown causes

Photo by World Wide

Roger Dean Craig died of a massive gunshot wound to the chest

wald were having some of their disagreements.

Cliff Carter, LBJ's aide who rode in the Vice President's follow up car in the motorcade in Dealey Plaza where President Kennedy was gunned down, was LBJ's top aide during his first administration. Carter died of mysterious circumstances. Carter died of pneumonia when no penicillin could be located in Washington, D.C. in September 1971. This was supposedly the cause of death.

Buddy Walthers, Deputy Sheriff, was at the kill sight of President Kennedy. He picked up a bullet in a hunk of brain matter blown from the President's head. Walthers never produced the bullet for evidence.

Walthers was also at the Texas Theater when Oswald was arrested. In a January 10th, 1969 shooting, Walthers was shot through the heart. In a shootout Walthers and his companion Deputy Alvin Maddox, were fired upon by Cherry, an escaped prisoner. Walthers and Maddox were trying to capture Cherry when Walthers was shot through the heart. Walthers's widow received $10,000.00 for her husband dying in the line of duty.

Clay Shaw, age 60, died five years after he was charged by Jim Garrison for his involvement in the Kennedy assassination. Some reports have it that he had been ill for months after surgery for removing a blood clot. Other newspaper reports of his death stated he had cancer. It was revealed that Shaw was a paid contact for the CIA. A neighbor reported that an ambulance was seen pulling up to the Shaw home. Then a body was carried in and an empty stretcher brought out. A few hours later, Shaw was reportedly found dead in his home. Then he was given a quick embalming before a Coroner could be notified. It was then impossible to determine the cause of death.

On May 15, 1975, **Roger Dean Craig** died of a massive gun shot wound to the chest. Supposedly, it was his second try at suicide and a success. Craig was a witness to the slaughter of President Kennedy. Only Craig's story was different from the one the police told.

Craig testified in the Jim Garrison trial. Before this, Craig had lost his job with the Dallas Police Dept. In 1961, he had been "Man of the Year." Because he would not change his story of the assassination, he was harassed and threatened, stabbed, shot at, and his wife left him.

Craig wrote two manuscripts of what he witnessed. "When They Kill A President" and "The Patient Is Dying."

Craig's father was out mowing the lawn when Craig supposedly shot himself. Considering the hardships, Craig very well could have committed suicide. But no one will ever know.

John M. Crawford, 46, died in a mysterious plane crash near Huntsville, Texas on April 15, 1969. It appeared from witnesses that Crawford had left in a rush.

Crawford was a homosexual and a close friend of Jack Ruby's. Ruby supposedly carried Crawford's phone number in his pocket at all times. Crawford was also a friend of Buell Wesley Frazier's, the neighbor who took Lee Harvey Oswald to work on that fatal morning of November 22, 1963.

Hale Boggs was the only member of the Warren Commission who disagreed with the conclusions. Hale Boggs did not follow Earl Warren and his disciples. He totally disagreed. Hale Boggs was in a plane crash lost over frozen Alaska.

Nicholas J. Chetta, M.D. age 50, Orleans Parish coroner since 1950, died at Mercy Hospital on May 25, 1968. Newspaper reports were sketchy. It was said he suffered a heart attack.

Dr. Chetta was the coroner who served at the death of David Ferrie.

Dr. Chetta was the key witness regarding Perry Russo against Clay Shaw. Shaw's attorney went into federal court only after Dr. Chetta was dead.

Dr. Martin Luther King was murdered, then his assassin not captured until over a year later. Dr. King was the only hope this country had for bringing about equality.

The death of **Robert Kennedy**, only shortly after Dr. King's death on June 5th, 1968, was a brazen act which gave notice to this entire nation. It became imperative, when Senator Kennedy became a threat as a Presidential candidate, that he had to be killed.

There is evidence that two persons, a man, and a woman were with the accused killer, but authorities have found no trace of them. Coroner, Dr. Thomas Noguchi told the Grand Jury the powder burns indicated the murder gun was fired not more than two to three inches from Kennedy's right ear. Witnesses testified that Sirhan was never closer than four or five feet to the Senator.

I have not, by any means, listed "all" of the strange deaths. I have a complete list in my books. I have listed the most significant ones that occurred after the assassination. The strange deaths after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, in my estimate, numbered over 100, but I am certain I know of only a fraction.

Many strange deaths occurred after the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, and Senator Robert F. Kennedy. No one knows the exact number.

Penn Jones, Jr. resides in Waxahachie, Texas. publishes a monthly newsletter on the assassination of JFK, Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King and is the author of numerous books on the subject.

THE MURDER OF MARY PINCHOT MEYER

Socialite, mistress of JFK, wife of CIA official, Ben Bradlee's tenant and sister-in-law, and victim of a terrible conspiracy.

By Timothy Leary

From 1960 to 1967 I was director of research projects at Harvard University and Millbrook, New York which studied the effects of brain-change drugs. During this period a talented group of psychologists and philosophers on our staff, ran guided "trips" for over 3000 volunteers. These projects won world-wide recognition as centers for consciousness alteration and exploration of new dimensions of the mind.

Our headquarters at Harvard and Millbrook were regularly visited by people interested in expanding their intelligence—poets and writers like Allen Ginsberg, Charles Olson, Jack Kerouac, Robert Lowell; musicians like "The Grateful Dead," Charles Mingus, Miles Davis, John Lennon, Jim Morrison; philosophers like Aldous Huxley, Arthur Koestler, Alan Watts; swamis, gurus, mystics, psychics by the troops. Scores of scientists from top universities. And, occasionally steely-eyed experts, from government and military centers also participated.

It was not until the Freedom of Information Act of the Carter administration that we learned that the CIA had spent 25 million dollars on brain-change drugs, and that the U.S. Army at Edgewater Arsenal in Maryland had given LSD and stronger psychedelic drugs to over 7000 unwitting, uninformed enlisted men.

The most fascinating and important of these hundreds of visitors showed up in the Spring of 1962. I was sitting in my office at Harvard University one morning when I looked up to see a woman leaning against the door post, hip tilted provocatively, studying me with a bold stare. She appeared to be in her late thirties. Good looking. Flamboyant eyebrows, piercing green-blue eyes, fine-boned face. Amused,

Mary Pinchot Meyer and her husband Cord Meyer Jr. *Photo by Wide World*

arrogant, aristocratic. "Dr. Leary," she said cooly, "I've got to talk to you."

She took a few steps forward and held out her hand. "I'm Mary Pinchot. I've come from Washington to discuss something very important. I want to learn how to run an LSD session."

"That's our specialty here. Would you like to tell me what you have in mind?"

"I have this friend who's a very important man. He's impressed by what I've told him about my own LSD experiences and what other people have told him. He wants to try it himself. So I'm here to learn how to do it. I mean, I don't want to goof up or something."

"Why don't you have your important friend come here with you to look over our project for a couple of days. Then if it makes sense to all concerned, we'll run a session for him."

"Out of the question. My friend is a public figure. It's just not possible."

"People involved in power usually don't make the best subjects."

"Don't you think that if a powerful person were to turn on with his wife or girlfriend it would be good for the world?"

"Nothing that involves brain-change is certain. But in general we believe that for anyone who's reasonably healthy and happy, the intelligent thing to do is to take advantage of the multiple realities available to the human brain."

"Do you think that the world would be a better place if men in power had LSD experiences?"

"Look at the world," I said, "Nuclear bombs proliferating. More and more countries run by military dictators. No political creativity. It's time to try something, anything new and promising."

I offered her some California sherry from a half gallon jug, but she made a cute little face and invited me out for champagne. She continued asking me questions as we sat in the cocktail lounge.

Then I saw her face go tense.

"You poor innocent thing," she murmured. "You have no idea what you've gotten into. You don't really understand what's happening in Washington with drugs, do you?"

"We've heard some rumors about the military," I said.

"It's time you learned more. The guys who run things—I mean the guys who *really* run things in Washington—are very interested in psychology, and drugs in particular. These people play hardball, Timothy. They want to use drugs for warfare, for espionage, for brainwashing, for control."

"Yes," I said. "We've heard about that."

"But there are people like me who want to use drugs for peace, not for war, to make people's lives better. Will you help us?"

"How?"

"I told you. Teach us how to run sessions, use drugs to do good." I felt uneasy. There was something calculated about Mary, that tough hit you get from people who live in the hard political world.

I asked once again, "Who are these friends of yours who want to use drugs for peace?"

"Women," she said laughing. "Washington, like every other capital city in the world, is run by men. These men conspiring for power can only be changed by women. And you're going to help us."

I drove Mary to the airport the next day and loaded her with books and papers about our research.

"I don't think you're quite ready to start running sessions," I told her. "I agree. I'll be back soon for more practice. And don't forget," she said. "The only hope for the world is intelligent women."

The next contact with Mary Pinchot, my mysterious visitor from Washington, came about six months later. She phoned me from across the river in Boston. "Can you meet me right away in Room 717, Ritz Hotel?"

Enchanting as before, she motioned to a silver ice bucket with a bottle of Dom Perignon tilting out. "I'm here to celebrate," she said.

I twisted the bottle to make the cork pop gently. "Your hush-hush love affair is going well?"

"Oh yes. Everything is going beautifully. On all fronts in fact. I can't give details, of course. But *top* people in Washington are turning on. You'd be amazed at the sophistication of some of our leaders. And their wives. We're getting a little group together, people who are interested in learning how to turn on."

"Really. I thought politicians were too power-oriented."

"You must realize, implausible as it may seem, there are a lot of very smart people in Washington. Especially now with this administration. Power *is* important to them. And these drugs do give a certain power. That's what it's all about. Freeing the mind."

She held out her glass for more champagne. "Until very recently control of American consciousness was a simple matter for the guys in charge. The schools instilled docility. The radio and TV networks poured out conformity."

"No doubt about it," I agreed.

"You may not know that dissident organizations in academia are also controlled. The CIA creates the radical journals and student organizations and runs them with deep-cover agents."

"Oh come on, Mary," I said. "That sounds pretty paranoid to me."

Mary sipped at her glass and shook her head. "I hate to be the one to break the news to you. Don't you know what these guys are most interested in right now?"

"Drugs, I suppose."

"You got it. A few years ago they became absolutely obsessed with the notion that the Soviets and the Chinese were persuading our POWs in Korea to defect by brainwashing them with LSD and mescaline."

"That's certainly possible. With what we've discovered about set and setting, we know that almost anyone's mind can be changed in any direction."

"Any direction?"

"With a minimum of information about the subject's personal life and two or three LSD sessions, you could get the most conventional person to do outrageous things."

"Suppose the person wanted to be brainwashed in a certain direction . . . wanted to change himself?"

"Easier yet. Our research is conclusive on this. Changing your mind, developing a new reality-fix, is a simple and straightforward proposition. Of course, altering your mind is one thing. Changing the outside world to conform to your new vision remains the difficult problem for us . . ." I struggled for a word. "Utopiates."

Mary clapped her hands together like a birthday girl. "Utopiates! Beautiful. That's what it's all about, isn't it? Make it a better world." She sat down next to me and held my hand.

"I told you the first time we met. I want to learn how to brainwash."

"That doesn't sound very ladylike."

At this she burst into laughter. "If I can teach the use of utopiates to the wives and mistresses of important people in our government, then we can . . . well shit, Timothy, don't you see what we can do?"

"What?"

"We can do on a bigger scale what you are already doing with your students—use these drugs to free people. For peace, not war. We can turn on the Cabinet. Turn on the Senate. The Supreme Court. Do I have to explain further?"

Her proposal was scary. But come to think of it, it was close to what we Harvardites in our session rooms, lazily architecturing hopeful futures, had spelled out as the goal of psychedelic research.

I looked at myself in the reflection of the window: a forty-two-year-old man, being lured into a feminist plot to turn on the leaders of the United States government to the idea of world peace. She lay on the bed, pleased with herself, awaiting my reaction, knowing I was going to agree.

"Okay. What do you want from me? The drugs?"

"Just a little bit to get started. With our connections we'll be able to get all the supplies we want. And all you need too. Mainly I want advise about how to run sessions. And how to handle any problems that come up."

We spent the next four hours in a cram course on psychedelic sessions. Set and setting. Centering. Room service brought more champagne and then dinner. I drove her to Logan to get a night plane back to Washington. The next day I mailed off a stack of session reports. Since she had sworn me to secrecy, I told no one except Michael Hollingshead, the British agent working on our staff.

A few weeks later another call came from Mary. Could I meet her at the Ritz? She sounded tense.

For the next few months I was too busy with my own problems to think much about Mary Pinchot. In May 1963 I got fired from Harvard because of the controversial drug project. Then a large research center we had established in Mexico got shut down; American pressure on the Mexican government.

The phone call from Mary Pinchot came a week after our return from Mexico. She was at the Boston airport. She could spend only the afternoon. We met at a seafood restaurant downtown.

"Oh, you reckless Irishman. You got yourself in trouble again. It's magnificent, these headlong cavalry charges of yours. *Mais ce n'est pas la guerre.*"

What'd I do wrong?"

"Publicity. I told you they'd let you do anything you want as long as you kept it quiet. The plan to set up psychedelic training centers around the country was ingenious from all sides. They would have infiltrated every chapter to get some of their people trained. But they're not going to let CBS film you drugging people on a lovely Mexican beach. You could destroy both capitalism and socialism in one month with that sort of thing."

I was struck again by the brittleness this aristocratic woman had picked up from those stern-eyed business-suited WASPs who shuttle from home to office in limousines—the information brokers, editors, board members, executive branch officials—youngish men with oldish eyes (faces you used to see around Harvard Square or in the Yale quad), initiated early into the Calvinist conspiracy, sworn to be forever reliable, working for Wild Bill Donovan in Zurich, for Allen Dulles in Washington, for Henry Luce as bureau chiefs and then shuffling from *Newsweek* to the *Post*, manipulators of secret documents, facts, rumors, estimates, arms inventories, stock margins, voting blocs, industrial secrets, gossip about the sexual and drug preferences of every member of Congress, trained to grab and maintain what they can, all loyal to the Protestant belief that the Planet Earth sucks.

"Never mind all that," said Mary, "While you've been goofing around, I've been working hard. My friends and I have been turning on some of the most important people in Washington. It's about time we had our own psychedelic cell on the Potomac, don't you think?"

"So you need more drugs? That's going to be a problem. My plans for chemical plants in Mexico got wiped out."

Mary laughed. "Oh that's no problem. I can give you a contact in England. They'll sell you everything you need. And if things go the way I hope," she said emphatically, "we'll be seeing lots of good drugs produced here at home."

I pressed her, but she declined to say more.

Late in November 1963 a phone call came from Mary Pinchot. Her voice was tight-roping the wire of hysteria. She had rented a car at La Guardia and was somewhere in Millbrook. She didn't want to come to the estate. Could I meet her in the village?

Driving out the gate I saw a green Ford parked down Route 44. It followed me. I slowed down. It pulled up behind me. Mary. She climbed in beside me motioning me to drive on.

I turned down a side road through an unforgettable Autumn scene—golden fields, herds of fat, jet-black cows, trees turning technicolor, sky glaring indigo—with the bluest girl in the world next to me.

"It was all going so well," she said. "We had eight intelligent women turning on the most powerful men in Washington. And then we got found out. I was such a fool. I made a mistake in recruitment. A wife snitched on us. I'm scared." She burst into tears.

"You must be very careful now," she said. "Don't make any waves. No publicity. I'm afraid for you. I'm afraid for all of us."

"Mary," I said soothingly. "Let's go back to the Big House and relax and have some wine and maybe a hot bath and figure out what you should do."

"I know what you're thinking. But this is not paranoia. I've gotten mixed up in some dangerous matters. It's real. You've got to believe me." She glared at me. "Do you?"

Yes I do." Her alarm was convincing me.

"Look. If I ever showed up here suddenly, could you hide me out for a while?"

"Good." Now drive me back to my car. I'll stay in touch. If I can."

As I watched her drive away, I wondered. She wasn't breaking any laws. What trouble could she be in?

The next call from Mary came the day after the assassination of Jack Kennedy. I had really been expecting it.

I could hardly understand her. She was either drugged or stunned with grief. "They couldn't control him any more. He was changing too fast. He was learning too much."

"Who? You mean Kennedy?"

Long pause. Hysterical crying. I spoke reassuringly. She kept sobbing. "They'll cover every thing up. I gotta come see you. I'm scared. I'm afraid. Be careful."

The line went dead. Her words kept re-

Photo by Wide World

James Angleton, chief of CIA counter-intelligence, who destroyed Mary's diary.

peating in my mind. "They couldn't control him any more. He was changing too fast." I've never forgot those words.

In the months that followed I kept waiting for Mary to call back. I tried the Washington phone book for her number but she wasn't listed; not in Virginia or Maryland either.

My life was humming along. I got married and went on a round-the-world honeymoon. A few months later the marriage broke up. In my yearning for an ally, a friend, a woman, I found myself thinking a lot about Mary Pinchot.

Directory assistance in Washington, D.C. had numbers for several Pinchots but none for Mary. Then I remembered that she was a Vassar graduate and phoned the alumni office in Poughkeepsie. The cheery voice of the secretary became guarded when I asked for the address of Mary Pinchot.

"Mary Pinchot?" A long pause. "The person about whom you were asking . . . ah, her married name is Meyer. But I'm sorry to say that she is, ah, deceased. Sometime last fall, I believe."

"I've been out of the country. I didn't know."

"Thank you for calling," said the alumni secretary.

In shock I climbed out a third-floor window and up the steep copper roof of the Big House. There I leaned back against a chimney and tried to think things over. Michael Hollingshead, who sensed my malaise, scrambled up to join me, carrying two beers. When I told him about Mary, he brushed away a tear.

"I wonder what happened," I said.

"Next time we go to New York, let's see what we can find out," said Michael.

So off we went, Michael and I, down the Hudson to New York to meet the light-artists and sound wizards who were popping up on the Lower East Side. And to find out what happened to Mary Pinchot Meyer.

I cabbed over to Van Wolfe's apartment, drank a beer, and asked him if he could get any material on Mary Pinchot Meyer. He made a phone call to a friend who worked on the *Times*. An hour later a messenger was at the door with a manila envelope full of clippings, and WHAM—there was Mary's picture, the pert chin and nose, the deep intense eyes. Above, the headline read:

WOMAN PAINTER SHOT AND KILLED ON CANAL TOWPATH IN CAPITAL

MRS. MARY PINCHOT MEYER WAS A FRIEND OF MRS. KENNEDY

SUSPECT IS ARRAIGNED

Mary had been shot twice in the left temple and once in the chest at 12:45 in the afternoon of October 13, 1964 as she walked along the Old Chesapeake and Ohio Canal towpath in Georgetown. A friend told reporters that Mary sometimes walked there with her close friend Jacqueline Kennedy.

Mary Meyer as she looked when Timothy Leary met her. *Photo by Wide World*

Mary's brother-in-law, Benjamin C. Bradlee, *Newsweek's* Washington bureau chief, identified her body. Ben Bradlee was described as having been an intimate of the late President Kennedy. The article also mentioned Mary's ex-husband, Cord Meyer, Jr., former leader of the American Veterans Committee and the World Federalists, now a government employee, position and agency not specified.

Police said that the motive was apparently robbery or assault. Her purse was found by Ben Bradlee in her home. The suspect, a black male, was being held without bail.

My head was spinning with ominous thoughts. A close friend of the Kennedy family had been murdered in broad daylight with no apparent motive. And there had been so little publicity. No outcry. No call for further investigation. I felt that same vague fear that came when we heard about JFK's assassination.

"Can you get more information?" I asked Van.

Van came up to Millbrook the next weekend. I took him on a walk to Lunacy Hill. We sat smoking grass, watching the Hudson Valley tint purple in the sun set.

"My friend in police intelligence knew all about the Mary Pinchot Meyer case. Apparently a lot of people are convinced it was an assassination. Two slugs in the brain and one in the body. That's not the MO of a rapist. And a mugger isn't going to shoot a woman with no purse in her hand."

Van pulled out a Lucky Strike and lit it. His tremor was more pronounced than usual. "It's gotta be one of the biggest cover-ups in Washington history. It's too hot to handle. Everyone comes out looking bad. Some people say dope was involved. So the truth could hurt everyone, all those powerful people. No one wants the facts known."

As it turned out, it was some time before the facts were known.

One evening while lying in my cell in the Federal Prison in San Diego reading the paper a headline in the *San Francisco Chronicle* caught my eye:

NEW JFK STORY—SEX, POT WITH ARTIST

Ben Bradlee, Mary Meyer's brother-in-law, gave her diary to James Angleton *Photo by Wide World*

James Truitt, the source for this sensational story, was identified as a former assistant to Philip Graham, publisher of *The Washington Post.* In interviews with "*The National Enquirer, Associated Press* and *The Washington Post* Truitt revealed that a woman named Mary Pinchot Meyer had conducted a two-year love affair with President John Kennedy and had smoked marijuana with him in a White House bedroom. A confidant of Mary Meyer, Truitt told a *Post* correspondent that she and Kennedy met about 30 times between January 1962 and November 1963, when Kennedy was assasinated. Mary Meyer told Truitt that JFK had remarked, "This isn't like cocaine, I'll get you some of that." Truitt claimed that Mary Meyer kept a diary of her affair with the president, which was found after her death by her sister Toni Bradlee and turned over to James Angleton, chief of CIA counter-intelligence who took the diary to CIA headquarters and destroyed it. According to the *Post* another source confirmed that Mary Meyer's diary was destroyed. This source said the diary . . . contained a few hundred words of vague reference to an un-named friend.

Mary Meyer's sister was quoted by the *Associated Press* as saying, "I knew nothing about it when Mary was alive."

The article also revealed that the former husband of Mary Pinchot Meyer was Cord Meyer Jr. one of the most influential officials in the CIA—the only agent who had been awarded the Distinguished Intelligence Medal three times.

I lit a Camel cigarette and walked across my cell to the window and looked through the bars out to San Diego Bay. My mind was reeling with questions. Why was the fact that Cord Meyer Jr. was a top CIA agent covered up in the first stories about Mary's assassination? How come Ben Bradlee, publisher of the *Post*, brother-in-law of Mary gave her diary to the CIA? Why did James Truitt, top official of the *Post* break his silence after all these years? What did Mary mean when she said, after Jack Kennedy's assassination, that he knew too much, that he was changing too fast?

I resolved that when I was released from prison I would uncover the truths about Mary Pinchot Meyer and the reasons for her assassination. *(To be continued.)*

Timothy Leary is an award winning social scientist, psychologist, spiritual seeker, and former prisoner. He is the author of more than 100 books and articles.

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OPINION

The James Watt Legacy

By Tom Turner

He provided the best copy since Earl Butz. He was a cartoonist's delight, with his thick glasses and shiny pate. He filled the coffers and swelled the membership rolls of environmental organizations. Leaving his post as Secretary of the Interior, he left behind him a devastated agency and an American landscape considerably the poorer for his efforts. He said when he finally went that he would go down in flames, and so he did—with Republican senators firing many of the surface-to-air missiles.

James Gaius Watt will be remembered for his inability to stop goading his detractors, heaping on them what the *Los Angeles Times* called "unremitting derision." Anyone who disagreed with Jim Watt was perforce an enemy of America, an enemy of freedom; and Watt rose to rhetorical heights to sneer at them. What may go less noted is the substance of what he did to the agency he led and to the American earth. The picture is not pretty.

Watt's rise was what is often called meteoric. He grew up on the plains of Wyoming, went to school, college, and lawschool there; and at 24 found himself staff coordinator and chief speechwriter for the arch-conservative Senator Milward Simpson of Wyoming. Simpson was appointed to the Senate Interior Committee, and Watt was his chief aide on Interior matters. From there, Watt first worked as a lobbyist for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, then spent seven years in two positions in the Interior Department; and later a couple years on the Federal Power Commission. When the Department of Energy was created, it absorbed the FPC, and Watt moved West to start the anti-environmentalist Mountain States Legal Foundation, whose purpose, as he told the Senate Interior Committee during his confirmation hearings, was, "counterbalance those who use our judicial system to restrict economic growth and to defend individuals and the private sector from illegal and excessive bureaucratic regulation."

There were other early clues to the Watt regime. Repeatedly during his time at Mountain States, Watt had hit the rubber-chicken circuit, and his theme was often that the environmental movement had been taken over by a bunch of extremists who didn't care a whit about the environment but rather wanted to impose centralized, authoritarian government on America. There is little doubt that he believed what he said, but his constituency was smaller than he thought it was. When pollsters began to add up all the people that disagreed with one aspect or another of Watt's policies, it seemed that a huge majority of the country was, by Watt's definition, extremist.

Perhaps the pithiest observation about Watt came from columnist George Will about a year before the Secretary's demise: "There are only two things wrong with Jim Watt—his style and his substance."

Reading through miles of files, it is sobering to remember just how many times Watt put his foot in his mouth. Indeed, it is a wonder he survived as long as he did. Among the more memorable of his stunts:

- He wrote to the Israeli ambassador to the U.S., saying that if Jews in the U.S. didn't support Watt's policies, the U.S. might have to withdraw its support of Israel.
- He ordered his staff not to meet with "paid representatives" of professional environmental organizations.
- He used the Lee House in Arlington National Cemetery for a private party and charged the whole thing to the government. (He later returned the money, with typical gracelessness.)
- He kept his schedule a deep secret, apparently not wanting to confront demonstrators any more than necessary. He never made a public appearance in the San Francisco bay area, for example, where the environmental movement is particularly strong.
- He told a crowd in Fresno, California, that he never uses the terms "Democrats and Republicans . . . it's liberals and Americans."
- He likened supporters of abortion to the Nazis who perpetrated the holocaust.
- He booted several scientists off an Interior Department advisory panel because they were Democrats.
- And in his least important but perhaps most damaging act (before the last gaffe), he told the Beach Boys to stay away from the Washington D.C. Mall on July 4 because they would attract "undesirable elements." The undesirable fans of the rock group turned out to include the First Lady.

Just how much material damage did Watt inflict? The record is mixed. Owing as much to his obnoxious style as to his odd mix of corporate socialism and social ultra-conservatism, many of Watt's initiatives were stymied by Congress or by the courts.

Combining style with substance, on his first day on the job Mr. Watt summoned the staff of the Interior Department into the department's big auditorium and sacked all non civil-service employees, "effective immediately." Washington hands were shocked: never had there been so peremptory and thorough a house cleaning. These were political employees to be sure, but many were apolitical professionals who had toiled in Interior for many years. And that, of course, is what Watt wanted to accomplish. He set out to remake Interior in his own image, and to do so, he replaced all of senior management with his own people.

Next, with his typical candor, Watt outlined to a group of national-park concessionaires how he would accomplish his program without bothering to get permission from Congress: simply use the budget. Starve programs you want to play down and sell it as part of the Reagan austerity budget. In just two examples of many, he requested no money to buy new parkland, and when congress gave him some anyway, he refused to spend it. He slashed the budget of the Endangered Species Office, and so crippled it that no new species were "listed" for Watt's first two years in office.

How many species will be forever extinguished by this inaction? How many acres of potential parkland are forever lost to bulldozers and oil-drillers?

Then came the attempt to "privatize" parts of the public domain. Turn over authority over others to states and local jurisdictions, and sell public resources at rock-bottom prices. The outright sale of

public lands to private interests has not proceeded quickly, owing to public outcry. It remains to be seen if Mr. Watt's successor will try again, but it seems doubtful. Likewise, turning land over to states and cities has not gotten very far, probably because Watt typically tried to start with a particularly sensitive spot—Matagorda Island, the refuge of the whooping crane, which he more or less offered to the Governor of Texas.

The leasing of public resources, particularly coal, was far more serious, and his handling of these sales—along with sales of off-shore oil drilling leases—paved the way for his downfall. It was all there in his confirmation testimony, but few believed he would try so monumental a stunt once in office.

During those hearings, Watt argued that unless resources were developed in what he termed an orderly fashion, there would be a severe shortage sometime in the future that would lead to helter-skelter exploitation damaging to the landscape. But his definition of orderly turned out to resemble most people's definition of pell-mell.

Watt attempted, in his stormy two and a half years, to sell drilling rights to the entire outercontinental shelf—on an already glutted market—many times the amount of federal coal sold in past decades. Congress and the courts held up most of his drilling sales and put sensitive areas off limits to others. Following a coal sale in Montana and another in the Dakotas (Fort Union) and Wyoming (Powder River), Congress imposed a moratorium on further coal leasing until a commission (the one, incidentally, that was composed of "a black, a woman, two Jews and a cripple") could study and report on the coal-leasing program. Watt threatened to ignore the congressional moratorium, citing the recent court ruling throwing out the legislative veto; but a federal court told him to play ball. Even after the fiasco of the Powder River sale, Watt was unrepentant. Though this coal sold for around three and a half cents a *ton*, he said this would still pay off in the future. The Fort Union sale brought a meager eight-tenths of a cent per ton (not enough even to pay the administrative cost of the sale.)

So, in the end, what undid Watt? Conventional wisdom seems to have it that it was the secretary's big mouth, rather than his policies, that forced him out of the saddle. In fact, it was equal parts of both. Right from the start, it became clear that Watt was making many Republican politicians nervous with his words and his deeds. When the National Wildlife Federation polled its members on the subject, it found that while two-thirds of them had voted for Reagan, a bigger faction now wanted Watt out—because of his policies. (NWF is undoubtedly the largest of the conservation groups with a membership upwards of 4 million. It is also the most conservative, being composed in large part of hunters.)

James Watt is gone but his policies continue to destroy the land.

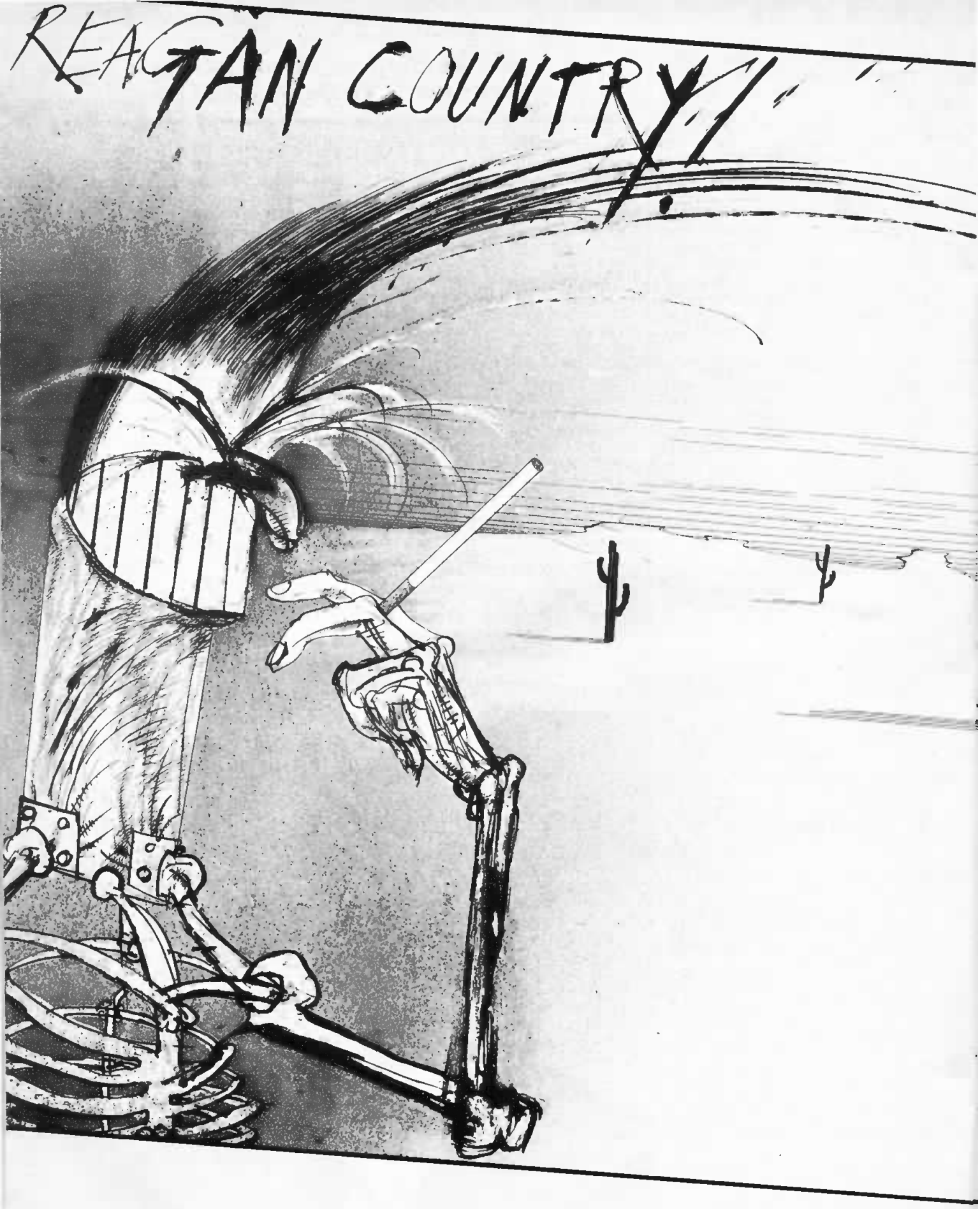
Watt finally turned almost everyone off. Indeed, ten days before he finally quit, it appeared that Watt's support had dwindled to the organized right: He had become the Secretary of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, a lobby devoted to "targeting" and defeating liberal candidates.

I have another theory: Watt took an early hike because he spoke only to friendly audiences and because he somehow forgot about the media. His boomerang barbs were the sort that politicians and other public figures love to hurl in private. Watt seemed to forget that there were always television cameras at his speeches—and that, like Mr. Nixon's tape recorders, provided the fatal ammunition.

* * *

And so now comes the era of Watt's replacement, Judge William Clark. The Judge, one of President Reagan's closest personal and political aides, is about as qualified to run the Interior Department as he was to be National Security Advisor or, before that, Assistant Secretary of State. During the confirmation hearings for his appointment to be then Secretary Haig's second-in-command, Clark could not name the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe nor the capitals of Mozambique or Angola. At least this time around, Clark can claim that he has some experience as a rancher. And while the Administration claims that the President's environmental policies will not change, there are some signals that things may improve subtly and slowly.

Tom Turner is the editor of the monthly newsmagazine Not Man Apart, published by Friends of the Earth.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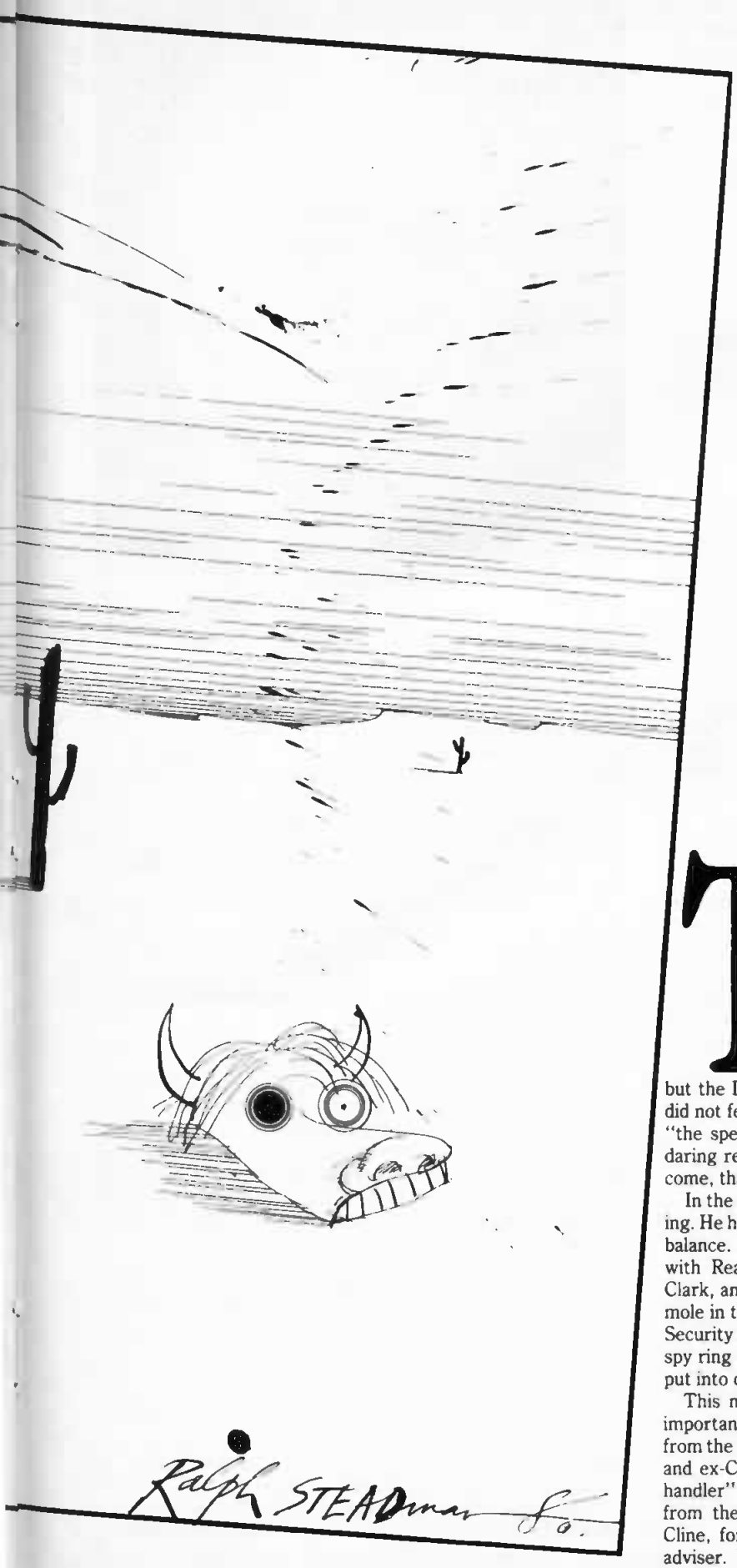

A QUESTION OF TREASON

How Ronald Reagan sabotaged the Iranian hostage rescue mission. The Iranians knew we were coming.

By Donald Freed

The Carter debate briefing book is the tip of the wrong iceberg. In the capacious Reagan dragnet it was one small shiny object dredged up from the murky depths of the 1980 campaign. Reagan's secret operation—run by Casey, Allen, Clark—had as its target, not the debate, but the Iranian hostage crisis—"the October surprise." Reagan did not fear Carter's television persona in a debate—Reagan had "the speech." He feared Carter's executive power to launch a daring rescue of the American hostages that he could not overcome, that would re-elect Carter, that alone.

In the winter of 1980 Ronald Reagan's candidacy was floundering. He had lost Iowa to George Bush; New Hampshire hung in the balance. Enter William Casey. Casey and Richard Allen huddle with Reagan's closest advisers, Ed Meese and Judge William Clark, and decide to pull out the stops. They decide to activate a mole in the Carter White House, and other moles in the National Security Council (NSC), and in the CIA. They decide to activate a spy ring inside their own government—in diplomatic terms they put into operation a ***coup de main***. Is this scenario credible?

This network of moles delivered many secrets but none so important as news of an "October surprise." Sensitive material from the NSC began to flow to Allen. Secret information from CIA and ex-CIA sources reached Casey. A top "control" or "agent-handler" in Casey's ring was Stephan Halper, a "researcher" from the Bush campaign. Halper's father-in-law was Dr. Ray Cline, former Deputy Director of the CIA and a high Reagan adviser. Halper, through Cline, had far-reaching access to the

most sensitive sources. Consider who Reagan's close adviser, Cline is.

Ray Cline's illustrious or notorious career in the clandestine world had led in his mature years to the directorship of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) housed at Georgetown University, and to The Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO).

Thanks to the background, then, of Casey, Allen, and George Bush, as former director of CIA, it is now possible to grasp the range and depth of the Reagan operation in 1980.

A memo has now surfaced, directed to Meese and Casey, referring to a White House mole. This has been laughed off by Reagan and aides as the work of someone "who's read too many spy novels." Elizabeth Drew, writing in the *New Yorker*, raises a compelling argument against such wisecracks.

What if, she asks, there is another possibility? It was known that the Reagan campaign was obsessed with the possibility that Carter might, shortly before the election, obtain the release of the hostages held in Iran. When Casey told a breakfast meeting of reporters at the Republican Convention in Detroit, that the Reagan people thought there might be "an October surprise," his suggestion just seemed like good politics. Any successful move by Carter would be seen as having been manipulated for the election. At the time, Casey used the term "intelligence operation" to describe the monitoring activity the campaign would conduct in order to anticipate the "surprise." One aide told Elizabeth Drew that some of the campaign leaders saw the Cuban missile crisis of October, 1962, just before that year's congressional elections, as a parallel for what Carter might do in October, 1980. "They knew what happened on what day in October, 1962," this man said, "and how the Congressional Elections were affected." It had already been reported that one Reagan campaign aide, Admiral Robert Garrick (Ret.), had organized a network of retired military officers to watch military bases for the movement of troops or transport planes. Garrick confirmed this. The disclosure was at once ludicrous and worrisome. When Carter attempted the rescue mission that failed, in April of 1980, the ships and helicopters were already in the area. A former Carter foreign-policy official says that a vital requirement of that or any other rescue mission was that it be carried out without any noticeable movement of troops or ships from the United States. He and others say that there were some contingency plans for another hostage-rescue attempt but that it was never seriously considered, because, among other things, the hostages had been dispersed from the American Embassy, where they had been held.

Logical observers ask what the Reagan campaign could possibly have done with information of a Carter rescue mission. To reveal the plan or use the information for political gain would be treasonous.

This question leads to a series of related questions. Was the CIA, for instance, loyal to Carter (as they had not been to Nixon)? "Old boys" had blocked Carter's appointee, Theodore Sorenson, to head CIA. This unprecedented rejection of a notable figure such as Sorenson, forced Carter, in 1977, to appoint an outsider, Admiral Stansfield Turner, to the directorship of CIA.

Turner removed about six hundred people from their jobs in the area of covert operations: many of these people were placed in other positions, about two hundred of them retired, and a few were fired outright. This makes for a very unhappy network. Some of these people were what one former Carter official calls "the cowboys-- the ones who run around and do things." Moreover, Carter, in 1978, issued a charter designed to put reins on the activities of the FBI and the CIA. Many of the former CIA people who helped out in the Bush campaign joined the Reagan-Bush campaign after the nomination. Among the people working with Cline, Halper, et al. was Robert Gambino, who had been the CIA Director of Security, a position that gave him access to the files of people who had received high-level security clearances. All of Casey's men were active in the Association of Former Intelligence Officers national network.

William Casey ran Reagan's intelligence system

Photo by Wide World

Ms. Drew sums up well by saying that "it is known that the Reagan campaign was extremely worried that Carter might do something about the hostages. It is clear that there was within the Reagan campaign a pattern and practice of obtaining sensitive information from within the White House. Perhaps all this activity amounts to separate pebbles; perhaps it forms a mosaic. In any event, as far as is known, this sort of activity does not represent, as some suggest, politics as usual. Of course there have been 'dirty tricks' before, and, especially in the pre-Watergate days, some high-handed activities on the part of administrations—but that was then. As of now, there is no sign that anything quite like this has occurred before."

If the Casey-Allen spying had as its priority the sabotage of Carter's hostage policy, was the Carter briefing book of any importance at all? Yes. What is not generally recalled is that Carter and Reagan were even in the polls in October, 1980, when the crucially important debate was held. The debate was the climax of the campaign. Reagan had to prove that he could do more than smile and joke, that he was more than an actor. In short, Reagan had to be briefed to destroy Carter in detail.

The debate was a fraud because Reagan had been stuffed with stolen information. Just as he had stolen football plays while in High School, and President Johnson's message on Vietnam to the Governor's Conference in 1967, so Reagan had had stolen for him the other side's signals in 1980. The stakes were high, the debate was the key event of the race; Richard Wirthlin told Elizabeth Drew that, "given the political environment, the election is going to hang or fall on that debate."

Reagan's aides confided to *Time* magazine that the stolen documents "had included every important item Carter used on the air . . . " David Stockman bragged in a speech that Reagan would win the debate and the election because of the "filched" briefing material.

Casey and Allen had been sucking up information right across the Federal bureaucracy; the briefing material used in the debate was one of their ancillary discoveries. Casey's campaign aide Max Hugel was later rewarded for his efforts by being appointed to head covert actions at CIA (but he was fired over charges of improper stock-trading purchases).

During those few short months, March to October, in 1980 a domestic "destabilization," of America by Americans, was shak-

Richard Allen helped Casey run Reagan's secret operation

Photo by Wide World

ing the country, unknown to its citizens. To recapitulate: Casey used the term "intelligence operation" to describe the monitoring when he and Reagan's campaign Chief of Staff, Edwin Meese, met with reporters at a breakfast during the Republican National Convention in Detroit in July 1980. A Republican official said use of this term "alarmed" Meese and others in the campaign and was not repeated.

Robert Garrick, who was in charge of plans and policy for Reagan's campaign, said the campaign intelligence group's information came chiefly from a network of retired military officers who monitored the movements of U.S. troops and transport planes at various air bases across the country.

A former high-level campaign adviser to Reagan said that one of the campaign chiefs, Richard V. Allen, received copies of portions of daily staff reports that had been sent to Carter's adviser on National Security Affairs, Zbigniew Brzezinsky.

Brzezinsky told the *Post* that the reports to him from NSC staff members on each day's activities were "sometimes extraordinary sensitive material of the highest nature . . . any unauthorized distribution to anyone outside the White House would be very serious."

The stealing of the debate material is compounded by the involvement of journalists in the scenario. Coaching Reagan were William Buckley, George Will, Evans and Novak, to name several. These men were, in fact, acting as Reagan agents.

High Carter adviser, Jody Powell, had tried, with little success, to identify the double standard applied to Carter by Reagan media friends. Powell writes that:

"The problem is that Will also put himself over, in the spring of 1980 at least, as a reporter, telling his readers that he had heard on both sides of the Atlantic that there would be an 'October surprise' and that Carter would probably arrange the release of the hostages just in time for the November election.

At the time, the possibility that Carter might succeed in bargaining the release of the U.S. hostages from the Teheran embassy was one that haunted the Reagan campaign. They saw what happened on the very day of the Wisconsin primary, April 1, 1980. Polls had been showing Kennedy running very close to Carter.

At 7:18 am on primary day Carter appeared on network TV to announce a possible deal on the hostages. He won the primary by 20 points.

On no less than three occasions in Campaign '80 journalists friendly to Reagan—Will, Evans & Novak, and Jack Anderson—reported the possibility of an October surprise. The effect of such stories, which had no foundation in reality, was preemptive downplaying of an actual hostage release, by implying that it would merely be part of a sordid campaign maneuver; in effect playing politics with people's lives. So was Will being a reporter or a political activist?

(I assume, incidentally, that the only real scandal on the part of the Reagan campaigners would be if they were illicitly obtaining classified information on the status of hostage negotiations. The Carter White House had offered briefings on these negotiations, but the Reagan team turned them down, doubtless not wishing to be implicated in failure. If there really was a high-level Reagan mole in the NSC, he would have been truthfully telling the Reagan team that there was no change of an October surprise, and that all negotiations on the hostages had ground to a halt. But perhaps the mole did say this and the Reaganites rejected it as potential disinformation. You simply can't tell, at that level of paranoia.)"

Again, the "October surprise." Except that the hostage rescue attempt came in April, and it was not a surprise to the Iranians. We shall see that Reagan's "media assets" (Buckley's term of clandestine art) worked at two levels. First there was "disinformation." The media was being used, unwittingly. That explained, for example, the *Los Angeles Times'* misunderstanding about the heavy cost to the Reagan regime that the discovery of the pilfered debate book brought.

This seems particularly true when the relatively unimportant fruits of the effort that have come to light thus far are weighed against the potential cost to President Reagan of the present FBI and congressional investigations into possible White House "moles;" the removal of national security documents; the pilfering of Carter's debate briefing book; and allegations that "sexual favors" were exchanged for information.

What first made Carter's aides suspicious was the glaring appearance of "disinformation." Quoting Carter adviser Lloyd Cutler: "In all their talk about the October surprise, there was a certain element of disinformation or misinformation. In October, Evans and Novak ran a story that I had just been to Geneva making a secret trip and a handshake deal to bring the hostages out just before the election. It was just made up out of whole cloth. I had not been in Geneva, except in May."

The column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, a special "inside report" timed for release to subscribers a few days before the election, said Carter had decided to "compel" transfer to Iran of the frozen assets and hand over $1 billion in gold "at once."

The column also reported a "deal exchanging American hostages for military equipment vital to the Iranian war effort" and spoke of war material of various sorts being transferred from military warehouses to the Philadelphia Navy Yard for transfer to Iran.

"Roly is an old friend," Cutler said, "and when I reproached him, he indicated that it had come from an impeccable source, which I understood to be in the Reagan campaign. Whether it was disinformation—planting stories or making them up—or whether they had some sort of intelligence operation which brought in the wrong intelligence, I could not say."

President Carter's aide Jody Powell has documented the disinformation campaign, with some specificity, for those like Reagan who first called the entire affair "much ado about nothing."

Although careful reporters were able to spot and largely to foil two of the disinformation efforts, a third was a spectacular success, resulting in a series of columns by Jack Anderson that appeared in hundreds of newspapers around the country.

In August 1980, Anderson says he was presented with documents showing that Carter had ordered an invasion of Iran to take place in mid-October. This "tentative invasion date" was confirmed, according to Anderson, by someone working with the National Security Council in the White House. According to the

Ronald Reagan had former CIA agents in place to secure the election *Photo by Wide World*

columnist, his NSC source also said that the President had issued the order "to save himself from almost certain defeat in November." From August 18 through August 22, Anderson wrote and distributed five columns based on this information.

In fact, no such orders ever were issued, and the idea of launching a second rescue mission never was seriously considered or discussed. Although a contingency plan was prepared as a matter of course, conditions never arose that were even remotely consistent with its use.

If, as Anderson claims, he has documents showing that such orders were issued, those documents were forgeries. "If someone on the NSC staff confirmed the authenticity of these documents, much less described the President's motives for the non-existent orders, he was lying," according to Powell.

As the first Anderson columns about the politically inspired invasion orders were appearing, *Washington Post* Defense Correspondent George Wilson became the target for the second disinformation effort. Wilson was contacted by an anonymous source who claimed to work for the CIA. For several weeks this source tried to sell Wilson a variety of stories, all damaging to the Carter administration. One described a CIA study, supposedly done in connection with the April attempt to rescue the hostages, that had predicted that the effort would result in 60% casualties among the hostages.

Wilson was interested, but insisted that he needed something more substantial before he could write such a story. In mid-September, he received through the mail what appeared to be the "something more" that he had requested: A copy of a CIA study, dated March 16, 1980, entitled "Oplan Eagle Claw Loss Estimate." The document stated that 20% of the hostages would be killed or seriously wounded during the assault on the compound, another 25% during the effort to locate and identify the hostages and another 15% during their evacuation to the waiting helicopters.

That document was a forgery. In the words of former Deputy CIA Director Frank C. Carlucci, the man who supposedly ordered the study, "I have been unable to find anything in this alleged CIA document that is either accurate or which approximates any memorandum we prepared."

Wilson was persuaded by Carlucci's analysis, which listed a series of flaws and errors in the document, and wrote no story.

The third and by far the most vicious portion of the disinformation campaign was launched on Capitol Hill in early September. Allegations were spread by Republican Senate Staff Members that David Aaron, Deputy to National-Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinsky, had been responsible for the arrest and execution of a valuable American spy in the Soviet Union. The charges were proved false, but not until after the election. In the meantime, the staff members succeeded in provoking a full-scale investigation by the Senate Intelligence Committee and in leaking word of the supposedly secret investigation, along with Aaron's name, to several news organizations, including the *New York Times*.

On September 23 the *New York Times*, persuaded that journalists were being used, blew the whistle on the smear campaign. A week later, Cable News Network Senior Correspondent Daniel Schorr, writing in the *New Republic*, concluded an in-depth analysis of the affair by describing the attack on Aaron as "a classic piece of covert action that left the desired taint of suspicion."

Those responsible for the Aaron smear were members of "The Madison Group"—established, according to columnist William Safire, to "embarrass, bedevil and defeat" the Carter administration. The group of ultra-reactionary Senate Staff Members maintained a liaison with the Reagan campaign, through the Heritage Foundation.

The mole propaganda concerning Aaron is now understood for what it was—disinformation to protect the *Reagan* mole that *was* functioning in the NSC. Powell summarizes the affair in this way:

Question: What other dirty tricks did the Reagan campaign perpetrate?

Hint: The notebook was stolen not from the campaign headquarters but from the White House. Fewer than a dozen people ever saw it. The person who took it almost certainly had access to other information even more valuable to the Reagan campaign. It is logical that he (she?) would risk copying and sneaking out a thick notebook but ignore more important information that could be passed over the telephone?

Question: Who else in the Reagan campaign was involved? Was the mole paid in cash? With a job? A pat on the head?

Hint: Baker and Gergen have only the vaguest recollection of the whole incident; they don't even know who handed them the notebook. (Presumably it was left under Gergen's pillow by the tooth fairy.) Baker described to Barrett how he agonized over the "ethical dilemma" presented by the stolen material, but now says that he didn't even try to find out who was responsible so that he could make sure that it didn't happen again. If you can swallow that, take a friend along the next time you buy a used car.

Question: Did Reagan know that he was using stolen material?

Hint: Baker, Stockman and Gergen swear that they never told their boss anything. Remember, however, that both camps viewed the debate as the most crucial event of the campaign. At that point, pollsters from both sides saw the race as a dead heat. If you can believe that Reagan was never told that what he was hearing in the rehearsal was the genuine stuff, not just someone's best guess of what Carter might say, take two friends and a lawyer to help you with that car.

So we do have espionage in the classical sense from the Reagan campaign. Elizabeth Drew's question still burns—to what end? Election is the wrong answer. Frustrating the "October surprise" could not have involved premature disclosure and, thus, treason. Could it?

We are now obliged to approach the threshold question of Reagan's "October surprise." In the light of the Reagan camp's "obsession" (their word) with Carter's handling of the Iranian hostage crisis, and the revelation that William Casey had woven a web of "domestic espionage" (*N.Y. Times'* term) to catch National Security Council information, the basic question arises: was the Iranian crisis, to the Reagan forces in 1980, what the Paris peace talks were to the Nixon campaign in 1968 and 1972; matters of the highest national security that could be manipulated in order to gain political power (as we now know Nixon did in both '68 and '72)?

The obligatory question is: what were the Reagan-Casey agents (the retired intelligence and military officers) looking for? And if it was information about a hostage rescue (admittedly the only event that could stop Reagan) what would Reagan have done with it? What could he have done without exposing himself to charges of criminal opportunism that threatened American lives? Could or would the Reagan-Casey-Allen spy ring disclose prematurely or blow the rescue operation, the operation that would rescue, as well, Jimmy Carter's chances for re-election?

The "debacle in the desert," as the aborted rescue mission of April 1980 would be called, doomed the Carter presidency once and for all. Did the Ayatollah's military and police have advance warning? Did someone sabotage the top secret plans to rescue the American hostages? Further, did the constant Reagan campaign charge that Carter was "weak" force his hand in a rescue scheme that was probably doomed to fail? Most alarming, according to Carter aide Hamilton Jordan, was the March 29, 1980 disinformation. A professionally forged, very clever letter purporting to be from Carter was given to Khomeini through "channels." The letter apologized for all past U.S. "crimes against Iran." The story of the letter was leaked to the British News Agency *Reuters* and then released to the world press. The ploy worked, the American media refused for weeks to accept Carter's protestations of forgery. By the time it was realized that someone had foisted a forgery on Khomeini, another dirty trick was wrecking Carter's desperate attempt at keeping the rescue mission secret.

On Sunday, April 20, 1980, the *Washington Star* played a long, vivid story—"the hostages can be freed"—by one Miles Copeland. The Carter White House and National Security Council were aghast. They knew who Miles Copeland was.

Miles Copeland was so high in the secret world of the Central Intelligence Agency that he had been the American liaison to Colonel Nasser and Egypt during the most sensitive period of Middle Eastern maneuvering in the 1950s. Copeland, in his book *Game of Nations*, discussed in detail the "zero-sum" techniques used by CIA to "destabilize" governments—as in Iran where Copeland had been a master player in the 1953 coup which restored power to the Shah.

Copeland, then, had intimate knowledge of Egypt, Iran, and Oman and the oil Sheikdoms (where his own private intelligence "P.R." firm operated for giant oil consortiums). This is important because Egyptian, Iranian and protectorate sources figured vitally in the secret hostage negotiations and rescue plans, these same sources had been Copeland's for many years past.

Oman was a primary channel in the flow of information about the rescue. Carter, in his memoirs, stresses again and again the almost incredible lengths to which the President's White House and National Security Council (NSC) were going to keep the raid secret. But Reagan had a "mole" and, it is becoming credible to believe a "back-channel"—Miles Copeland and his various firms and fronts of "old boys", referred to in his own *Star* article. The Carter White House was also concentrating on Oman.

"My persistent anxiety was to maintain secrecy. However, I was soon forced to share the news with one other head of state, when I received information about disturbing stories originating with a former British officer in Oman, who was employed by the Sultan.

"He had reported to British officials in London that we had planes in Oman (which was true) and that they were loaded with ammunition and supplies for the Afghan freedom fighters. The British and Omanis were getting nervous, and I had to send Warren Christopher to London to brief Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Foreign Minister Peter Carrington about the true purpose of the planes. Christopher was careful not to ask them for any comment, but simply informed them about our plans for the rescue."

Copeland had worked with British intelligence since World War II and his MI-6 assets in Oman are the best there are, according to his colleagues. The ship movements for the rescue were in the Gulf of Oman, the transport planes supporting the ship in the Gulf of Oman were flying out of Egypt. There was nothing for Casey's retired watchers to watch in the United States. Casey's eyes, and Copeland's, were watching from the Middle East, the source of the back-channel.

Finally, Copeland is an almost legendary figure in Iran. He refers to every level and area of the country continually and it is clear that his contacts in the "Savak" are still alive. Copeland had helped to set up the notorious, murderous, secret police of the Shah in the first place.

According to authoritative accounts, although the Joint Chiefs of Staff had told Carter categorically after the hostages were taken that no rescue effort was feasible, the military had done a complete turnaround in the intervening months. They knew ex-

actly where the hostages were (a fact they hadn't been certain of at the outset), they had evolved a plan of operation in which they believed, and they had a force in training to execute it.

Copeland starts out his astounding "speculative fiction" by saying:

"Early last December, a young chap from a certain government agency made the rounds of us old timers, 'unofficially and off the record,' to ask whether we thought an 'Entebbe-type' or SWAT-type raid on the U.S. Embassy in Tehran was feasible. His intention was to elicit a resounding 'no' so as to justify President Carter's policy of 'restraint' when pressure was building up to get the hostages home by Christmas."

Copeland, code-name "Mr. Lincoln," now disclosed that he and "Safford", "The Weasel," "Masterson," and "The Whistler" were all somehow involved in the military planning for some kind of surprise rescue. The Weasel, et al., Copeland assures us, are the kings of covert action, from O.S.S. days with William Casey.

Shortly after being approached by the government, Copeland states that he and the other old boys did, in reality, work out a rescue scenario. If one compares the "Copeland plan" with what, in fact, we know the Carter plan contemplated, the most serious questions arise.

Hamilton Jordan quotes his boss, Jimmy Carter, at a National Security Council luncheon meeting on April 11, 1980:

"As you know," Carter continued, "the first week the hostages were seized, I ordered the Joint Chiefs to develop a rescue plan that could be used in dire circumstances. A team of expert paramilitary people now report that they have confidence in their ability to rescue our people. Before I make up my mind, I want to know your reactions."

The President might say—or even believe—he hadn't made up his mind, but I knew he had.

"Harold," he said, "I'd like for you and Dave Jones to outline the plan, the risks, the problems—and the prospects for success."

So secret was the meeting that Secretary of State Cyrus Vance only learned of the decision to proceed with the rescue after April 11, because he had not been in Washington for the meeting. On April 20, Vance read the Copeland story in the *Star* and, perhaps, because of it demanded to know how much was true! (Carter tells Vance the plan. Vance is very upset because it is too late, the "go" order had been given on the 18th. On April 21, Vance submits his letter of resignation to Carter.)

Vance had not known, but the NSC had. We know now that the Reagan-Casey spy operation had sources or "moles" in that NSC. Besides moles, there is strong indication that Casey, Copeland, and the old boys had deep back-channels all along from MI-6 and old CIA "assets."

Copeland knows that he is in a minefield with his speculation, and attempts to cover himself.

"Before proceeding, it must be stated that President Carter has not confided his intentions to me, nor has this article been cleared by the CIA or anyone else. It has, however, been agreed to by my old colleagues, who wish to be associated with it."

Copeland then proceeds to discuss how he and other CIA agents "turned" the crowd when the agency orchestrated the overthrow of the democratically elected government of Mossadegh in 1953. We now know from the Carter memoirs and other sources that that is precisely what the U.S. plan to rescue the hostages envisaged, and that CIA street agents were in place and ready to go into action when the violence around the embassy should reach the stage of mass confusion.

If we compare what President Carter and his aides have written and said about the rescue plan, one conclusion is inescapable.

Reconnaissance

Carter: We had blueprints of our embassy buildings in Tehran, of course . . . .

Much more important, we received information from someone (who cannot be identified) who was thoroughly familiar with the compound, knew where every American hostage was located, how many and what kind of guards were there at different times during the night, and the daily schedule of the hostages and their captors. This was the first time we knew the precise location of the Americans.

Copeland: Already we have detailed maps of the embassy compound.

We will need to know more, however, about where and how the prisoners are kept, where the booby traps, if any, are planted, how the patrols work, what arms and munitions there are, how food and medical supplies are delivered . . . .

Recruitment of Agents

Carter: Our agents, who moved freely in and out of Tehran under the guise of business or media missions, had studied the degree of vigilance of the captors.

Newsweek—May 12: For weeks beforehand, American intelligence agents, some posing as European businessmen, had infiltrated Iran to ease the way for the commando raid. Some agents,

Edwin Meese was Ronald Reagan's campaign chief of staff *Photo by Wide World*

presumably in Tehran much longer, may have penetrated the ranks of the militants guarding the hostages at the U.S. Embassy . . .

Newsweek—May 12: A senior U.S. official told NEWSWEEK that excellent intelligence had been turned up on the Tehran embassy—"virtually from the inside." Writing in the London Daily Telegraph, respected defense correspondent Clare Hollingworth claimed that more than 100 American agents still were operating in Iran last week. "Iranian members of the teams," Hollingworth wrote, "managed to 'bend' several of the captors, who then became 'moles' inside the embassy. These 'moles' were ready and willing to assist in the escape."

Copeland: Considering what we might offer . . . and considering that there are sometimes as many as 40 of them (students) away from the compound out on the town or spending the night at their homes, this is an easier feat than it might appear (recruitment).

Considering the number of prospective agents—and, to the CIA pro, every one of those students is a potential agent until proven otherwise—the law of averages is on our side.

Cover

Carter: (The) trucks our agents had purchased would be removed from a warehouse on the outskirts of Tehran, driven to a point near the mountain hiding place, and used to carry the rescue team to the city. At a prearranged time, the rescue team would simultaneously enter the foreign-ministry building and the compound, overpower the guards, and free the American hostages . . . . (The) helicopters would land at the sites, picking up our people and carrying them to an abandoned air-strip near the city.

Communication between the Pentagon and the rescue team, using satellites and other rally facilities, would be instantaneous. I would receive telephone reports from David Jones and Harold Brown (from the Pentagon)

William Clark was the Reagan aide who found a mole in Carter's White House *Photo by Wide World*

Copeland: There will be a "staging area" somewhere within helicopter range of Tehran at which brush-up training will be given the two teams.

There also will be a point . . . known as the . . . "penultimate position," from which the attack actually will be launched.

The choice of this latter is highly important. It—or they—must be near enough to the target to allow for a thrust lasting less than one minute and, at the same time, it must be part of the "peoplescape" in the immediate area.

This (staging area) may or may not be the same as the "field headquarters" where some communication assistant will monitor the operation keep Washington informed . . . .

Safe Haven and Evacuation

Carter: From there (the abandoned air strip near Tehran), two C-141s would fly all the Americans to safety across the desert area of Saudi Arabia.

We also planned the procedure (after the mission was completed) for notifying Oman, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, whose territories would be used or crossed during the mission.

Copeland: There are several well-stocked areas near Tehran to which our helicopters may flee in a very short time with minimum danger of being followed . . . .

This (use of foreign airspace or landing areas), or course, is a matter for our State Department. For present purposes, it need only be said that our government has more friends in the Middle East than is commonly suspected.

Anesthetization

Newsweek: There was speculation that the Americans intended to use nonlethal gas to neutralize the embassy guards.

Copeland: This step, which security considerations prevent me from describing in any detail, consists of measures to incapacitate all resistance.

(It) includes such measures as . . . the use of stunning or nauseating but otherwise harmless gases . . .

Secrecy of Mission

Carter: "On April 18, I had quite a discussion with my closest advisers about how to deal with the congressional leadership on the Iran decision. Fritz (Mondale) led the argument for minimum advance notice and maximum secrecy. Cy (Vance) took the opposite tack, maintaining that we should advise the Democratic and Republican leaders in the House and Senate. I agreed with Fritz . . . ."

Copeland: Unfortunately, this whole plan, whether executed separately or as part of an overall military assault, has a weakness . . . It is that our government can take no action which does not have the full support of the people and of Congress.

There is a sad quote in Jimmy Carter's journal for April 21st.

"We listened carefully to all news reports, but heard only one other indication of a leak. In monitoring radio broadcasts all over Iran, we heard a story from up near the Iraqi border of an attempted rescue mission. It turned out to be a repeat of a conjectural story which had run earlier in the Washington *Star*—no damage was done."

But the damage was done. Copeland dwells on CIA assets in Iraq, in his article. The Iranians have made clear that they had advance warning. That only the mechanical problems in the desert that aborted the full raid, prevented the police and military from slaughtering the American hostages, agents, diplomats, all. By Sunday, April 20th, according to Carter, Radio Iran was broadcasting Copeland's story: the "surprise" was spoiled—Iranian double-agents had remained loyal to the Ayatollah as had Western-trained military men. Repeat: according to the highest Iranian sources the rescue of the hostages had been blown. Were the Iranians bluffing when they insisted that the raid never could have succeeded, was doomed in advance?

There is a final, strange piece in the puzzle. During the hostage crisis, in 1980, U.S. army intelligence set up a special unit in Iran. "Intelligence Support Activity" (ISA) was so secret that it operated virtually under an illegal status. It has since been disbanded. However, in 1980 CIA Director Stansfield Turner did *not* know of the existence of ISA, but Reagan campaign director William Casey *did*. According to a former Carter associate, the ISA "smells" like a back-channel of Casey's.

The coincidence between Copeland's version and official plans revealed by Carter, Jordan, Powell and others, is too great to let pass. Copeland and the official sources agree: disguise will be used; false communications will be employed to confuse the authorities; agents pretending to be media people would infiltrate the compound during the excitement. Further, Copeland chatters along about cover stories when, in fact, it is Copeland's *Star* piece that is ripping to shreds what Hamilton Jordan describes as "a disinformation campaign that will relax the Iranians."

There was more than mechanical problems at "Desert One," where the mission began. The commander of the operation,

Charles Beckwith, let it be known that there was a sudden and suspicious rate of traffic that night in the desert. In Washington, planners feared that the raid's cover had been blown. Had it? According to *Time* magazine:

"One of the many ironies of the entire mission was the fact that the C-130s were heading for a remote spot in the desert that the Iranians had feared might some day be used by U.S. forces. Indeed, they even had a map of the spot. It was discovered in the papers of Mahmoud Jaafarian, a pro-Shah counterinsurgency strategist who was executed after the revolution . . . Jaafarian told his captors that the staging site had been secretly built by the CIA, with the *Shah's* knowledge, for possible emergency use."

Jimmy Carter was unaware of Ronald Reagan's spy ring *Photo by Wide World*

Carter's plan to rescue the hostages had even more odds against it. William Casey's law firm, Rogers and Wells, represented the "Pahlevi Foundation" a huge conduit for the Shah and his family specializing in narcotics and overseas covert acts. The foundation was riddled with agents who had served with Casey and Copeland in the OSS and after, throughout the Cold War.

Mary McGrory, the Pulitzer Price winning columnist, speculated in the *Washington Post*, "what would the old soldiers have done . . . ? Would they have told the public that Carter was planning a coup to rescue the hostages . . . at the risk of endangering the lives of those involved?"

Somehow, the Iranians did know. Rescue team leader Charles Beckwith, himself, told *Newsweek* that a number of CIA agents in Teheran had pulled out, so that if the rescue had gone forward the Americans would have been compromised and at total risk.

We now know from the *New York Times* book on the aborted mission that within a week of the embassy takeover, "Brzezinski convened in his office the first in a series of high-level secret meetings of what came to be known as the 'Military Committee' . . . The Military Committee, which met two or three times a week also laid the plans for the rescue effort that was finally launched the following April." Among those the group consulted was H. Ross Perot, the flamboyant Dallas millionaire, who ten months earlier, had employed former Green Beret officers in a successful raid that freed two of his Electronic Data Systems Corporation employees from a Teheran jail.

Perot had worked closely with Casey and many of his "old boy" aides over the years—so here is still another potential back-channel to the Reagan operation.

Is it coincidence that on April 9, 1980 the students holding the embassy vowed "to destroy the hostages immediately" if the U.S. began "even the smallest military act against Iran"?

The *New York Times*, too, quoting "informed sources" reported on the rescue plans with words that had been anticipated in Copeland's article. The *Times'* maps also amplified Copeland's predictions.

Rescue Team

New York Times: Rescue teams move to warehouse on outskirts of Teheran for last-minute briefing by American infiltrators.

Copeland: It is essential, however, that for both internal and external reasons, the rescue team must have a definite mercenary character and be a discreet combination of Qashqais, Kurds and, of course, Farsis.

Escape

New York Times: Troops break into embassy, cut telephone and electricity lines.

One group neutralize Iranians; another frees hostages and evacuates them by helicopters from embassy grounds or nearby Anjadki soccer stadium.

Copeland: Once the embassy has been entered and the defenses neutralized, "Team A" will have on its hands a lot of confused defenders and very sleepy hostages.

By then, our 3 helicopters . . . will land at designated points, and the attackers will begin leading the hostages . . .

Meanwhile "Team B" . . . will have taken control of all communication into and out of the compound . . .

Does this sinister evidence tally with Ronald Reagan's record on campaign covert action, and his attitude toward Iran? In 1979 Reagan charged the revolt in Iran "could have been halted" if the U.S. had not "appeased student rebels." A familiar Reagan theme sounded on the *first* day of his campaign.

Pressed by reporters, Reagan said, "there were certain leaders who could have been separated from their followers and they weren't." He said such a separation, by throwing the student and Islamic leaders in jail, "would have been justified because they were inciting riots and causing death and destruction."

When a reporter pointed out that Iran's jails were full of leaders of anti-Shah factions, Reagan replied: "I don't know about that. I just know what people on the scene told me." He declined to identify them.

So much for the candidate's sources "on the scene;" were they now his campaign back-channel? Reagan sideslipped further questions and concluded his press conference with what was later exposed as an outright lie:

Reagan criticized former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and actress Jane Fonda by telling a story he said was first told to him by a former prisoner of war: "The young man's shoulder and arm were crushed, and they tied his arm to a wall until he agreed to meet with Ramsey Clark and Jane Fonda in Hanoi," Reagan said. The crowd booed Clark and Fonda.

Reagan's stale attacks on anti-war critics aside, the press conference was revealing, though the candidate did not say on that day—as he had before—that "espionage in a political campaign is not a criminal act."

What did Reagan know about the rescue mission, and when did he know it? How much more does Charles Beckwith know? Reagan rewarded Beckwith for his "failure" by giving him the top job of the 1984 Olympics security and anti-terrorism responsibility. Copeland's article appeared in the U.S. 96 hours before the rescue began, and in Iran it was broadcast repeatedly up until the day itself—why are those who blame researchers and the freedom of information act for "emasculating covert action" silent on this shocking leak? Is the Copeland piece the crown jewel of the Casey "intelligence operation to monitor an October surprise" (Casey's words)?

This question is as terrible as those asked of Nixon and Kissinger about the manipulation of the Paris Peace Talks for political gain. A terrible question of treason. □

Donald Freed is a prize winning historian. His Secret Life of Ronald Reagan *will appear in January. Freed's play* The Last Testament of Richard Nixon *is currently being staged in New York.*

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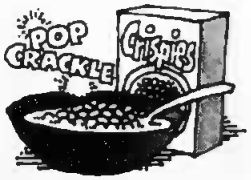

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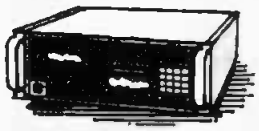

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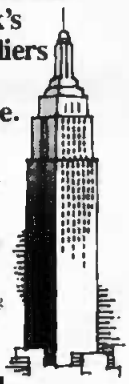

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THE WHITE HOUSE WAR AGAINST MARTIN LUTHER KING

The White House, the FBI and the Justice Department conducted a full-scale campaign to discredit and destroy the country's foremost civil rights leader.

By Jeff Cohen

The gunshot was still echoing in Memphis when Attorney General Ramsey Clark called in the FBI to investigate. And so it was on "Day 1" that the probe of the Martin Luther King assassination had veered off course.

In April 1968, however, there was little public outcry about the FBI's playing a role in the investigation. There were few calls for a special presecutor or for an independent probe by Congress. Back then, even King's lieutenants who had caught FBI agents in their peeping-tom activities, or had confronted federal officials about the surveillance, were unaware of the massive sweep of the Bureau's anti-King campaign.

There were, of course, dozens in Washington who were fully aware. There were the numerous Justice Department officials and presidential aides—all Democrats, some liberal—who participated in the espionage. Then there were the dozens of reporters, editors and publishers who had been offered the poisonous fruit of the FBI's voyeurism—photos, tapes, transcripts: evidence that the Bureau tracked King day and night. None of these men called for an independent probe, one not dominated by the FBI. Some journalists did belatedly criticize the FBI's spying, but none had raised their voices during King's life. These men had been—in the words of Black writer John A. Williams—the FBI's "silent partners."

In 1977, the House Select Committee on Assassinations undertook the first serious probe of the King killing, concluding two years later that there was "a serious likelihood of conspiracy." The committee's report pointed to a right-wing conspiracy hatched in St. Louis. Unfortunately, the two money men behind the plot had both died in the early 1970s. The House committee could do no more than excoriate the FBI and Justice Department for their monumentally inept investigation, suggesting that even a half-hearted inquiry at the time of the murder would have unearthed the St. Louis conspirators.

While the FBI's war against King has received abundant news coverage, most press accounts have inaccurately portrayed the FBI as having acted "beyond White House control" . . . a dubious and overstated conclusion. Meanwhile, the press has virtually ignored the House committee's provocative report on the King assassination.

"Neutralize King"

When Assistant FBI Director William Sullivan told Congress that Martin Luther King had received the treatment "usually afforded a Soviet agent," he was uttering an understatement. It is quite possible that no man in history received more FBI attention than Dr. King.

Beginning with a nine-hour conference at FBI headquarters on December 23, 1963, the Bureau set out to accomplish its stated goal of "neutralizing King as an effective Negro leader." To accomplish this purpose, the FBI employed a COINTEL-

PRO-style disruption and smear campaign—portraying King as an immoral, communist tool. From 1964 to '68, the Bureau:

- made thousands of recordings of King from wiretaps and room bugs.
- continually followed and photographed him.
- used anonymous phone calls and "poison pen" letters to create dissension among King's staff and associates in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).
- provided smear "briefings" on King to religious leaders (including Chicago's Archbishop Cody and Dr. Edwin Espy of the National Council of Churches), to competing civil rights leaders such as the NAACP's Roy Wilkins, to Congress and federal officials, U.S. ambassadors in Europe and foreign leaders.
- tried to kill articles written by King, while instigating red-baiting articles about King in dozens of publications.
- disrupted his fundraising efforts (leaking the lie that King was stashing money in a Swiss bank account; discouraging donations from the Ford Foundation and Nelson Rockefeller; breaking up a fundraising meeting scheduled with Jimmy Hoffa).
- tried to prevent King from receiving awards and honorary university degrees (succeeding at Marquette University).
- recruited the SCLC bookkeeper as an informant, paying him thousands of dollars per year even after the FBI learned the informant was embezzling SCLC funds.
- disrupted King's emotional stability (one ploy was to call in a false fire alarm, sending firetrucks speeding to a residence at which the Bureau knew King was recuperating from stress and overwork).
- tried to split up his marriage (on one occasion, the Bureau anonymously sent the Kings a tape from a bugged hotel room—along with a blackmail note threatening to expose King's "filthy fraudulent self" unless he committed suicide).

The campaign against King enlisted everyone from journalists to college administrators to Cardinal Spellman, who tried unsuccessfully to break up King's meeting with the Pope.

One of the FBI's most ambitious schemes was to replace King with a moderate, Black leader handpicked by the Bureau. This was to be accomplished through its "media assets" who would put the FBI's man in the limelight as soon as "King has been completely discredited." Although it is not known if the FBI did anything to promote the man it called "the right kind of national Negro leader," the man's identity is now known. He is Samuel R. Pierce, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the only Black in Reagan's cabinet. At the time, Pierce was an up-and-coming corporate attorney.

The Kennedys

The major misconception about the anti-King campaign holds that the FBI was operating totally "out-of-control." The truth is that the original surveillance of King was authorized by the Kennedy administration, and that the FBI's disruptive activities were encouraged by the Johnson administration.

Although several Kennedy lieutenants have offered unconvincing rationalizations for Attorney General Robert Kennedy's decision to authorize wiretaps on King and his associates, the electronic surveillance amounted to blatant political spying on the civil rights movement. The Kennedy administration was concerned that the pace of civil rights insurgency in the South was too fast. The information gained from electronically monitoring King's plans and strategies helped further the administration's contradictory goal of moderating the insurgency, while simultaneously looking good on civil rights.

In April 1963, King and SCLC launched their Birmingham campaign against Bull Connors, his snarling police dogs and high-pressure fire hoses. The whole world was watching and so were the Kennedys. The FBI was providing the White House with almost weekly reports of King's private phone conversations (intercepted by a wiretap on King's associate—New York attorney Stanley Levison).

The FBI's briefings provided the White House with King's privately-expressed sentiments about JFK, about the President's inadequate response to the events in Birmingham, and about King's specific plans aimed at forcing JFK into more substantial action on civil rights. On the first day of the protest, RFK had criticized the Birmingham campaign in the press—and in an argument with King on the phone—as "ill-timed." During these months, RFK and King conversed several times, occasionally arguing about the appropriate pace of change. King was at a distinct disadvantage here, as he was apparently unaware of the Attorney General's eavesdropping.

RFK had King's advisor, Stanley Levison, wiretapped as a result of FBI claims that Levison was a high-ranking, active Communist. RFK defenders have argued that the Kennedy administration was understandably concerned about the passage of its civil rights legislation, and not wanting the movement tainted by "Communist associations." What they have not explained is how this goal was furthered by allowing the FBI to wiretap and then use the out-of-context information to smear a movement the Bureau had always considered illegitimate.

The Kennedys must have known that the FBI was instigating numerous red-baiting articles about King—by leaking information from wiretaps the Kennedys had authorized. In June 1963, one of these appeared as a front-page headline story in the segregationist *Birmingham News*, alleging that one of King's staffmembers was a Communist. This FBI-inspired article appeared a month after the Birmingham campaign emerged victorious; 11 weeks later, racists bombed the movement's headquarters in Birmingham—a Black Baptist church—killing four girls.

The war on Martin Luther King started in the White House *Photo by Fred Ward, Black Star*

In August 1963, the FBI wiretapping recorded evidence that indicated King was having an extra-marital affair. The information was furnished to RFK who forwarded it to his brother in the White House, along with a cover note: "I thought you would be interested in the attached memorandum." Neither Kennedy seemed disturbed by the intimate intrusion into King's life, nor by the future implications of the FBI's possession of such information.

Robert Kennedy had authorized the King wiretaps on a "trial basis" to be "evaluated at the end of 30 days." But the evaluation never really took place. Thirty days later, RFK's brother was assassinated in Dallas. Instead of being reviewed or restrained, the FBI was about to be "unleashed."

All The Way With LBJ

It was the Johnson administration that oversaw the FBI's efforts to "neutralize King." While J. Edgar Hoover and his FBI minions played the leading roles, they were ably assisted by a supporting cast that included White House aides Walter Jenkins and Bill Moyers, plus Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach.

WALTER JENKINS, LBJ's closest aide, may be best remembered as the man who left the White House in scandal in October 1964 after being arrested for a sex act in the men's room of a Washington YMCA. Nine months earlier, it had been Jenkins to whom the FBI rushed its first recorded proof—from a bugged hotel room—of King's sexual activity. According to an FBI memo written by Assistant Director Deke DeLoach, "Jenkins was of the opinion that the FBI could perform a good service to the country if this matter could somehow be confidentially given to members of the press. I told him the Director had this in mind."

BILL MOYERS, now a CBS commentator, was another Johnson aide who worked closely with the FBI. At the 1964 Democratic convention, Moyers and Jenkins worked feverishly to deny credentials to the delegates of the integrated Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which King was supporting. The two Johnson aides received hourly telephone reports from an FBI "Special Squad", which was surveilling Freedom Democrats on the convention floor while wiretapping King at his hotel—justified by RFK's original authorization. After the convention, Moyers thanked the Bureau for its help and received a note from DeLoach: "You know you have only to call on us when a similar situation arises."

Three months after the convention, DeLoach offered a "sex tape" or transcript on King to *Newsweek's* Ben Bradlee, now the executive editor of the *Washington Post.* Bradlee turned the FBI away. When new-Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach heard about the offer, he sought to end the leaking by informing LBJ. The President said he would do something about it. What he did was send Moyers to warn the Bureau that Bradlee is a blabbermouth. (LBJ enjoyed listening to the FBI's sex tapes—according to one historian—"delighting in the squeak of the bedsprings.")

On December 4, 1974, Martin Luther King headed off to Europe to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. That week in Washington, Bill Moyers gave the Bureau permission to disseminate its scurrilous monograph on King, "Communism and the Negro Movement," throughout the federal government. The monograph (described by a Justice Department official as a "diatribe without evidentiary support") was dispatched to the department heads at Justice, State, Defense, CIA, Carl Rowan at the U.S. Information Agency, three military intelligence offices and IRS.

NICHOLAS KATZENBACH was the first attorney general to demand approval (in March 1965) on all FBI bugs. That's the good news. The bad news is that Katzenbach continued to approve the bugging of King—on "anti-subversive" grounds—even though it was obvious the Bureau had been using hotel room bugs primarily to expose (and exagerate) information on King's private life. Break-ins were often required to install the bugs, and Katzenbach later warned Hoover in a note that "we should be very cautious of the non-FBI people who may from time to time be involved in installation."

By the time of Katzenbach's warning to Hoover in late 1965, the government's tactics against King were beginning to shift from sexpionage to a political surveillance that was truly Nixonesque. Dr. King was edging to the top of President Johnson's "enemies list" due to his early criticism of the Vietnam War. The attorney general was authorizing break-ins. The FBI was monitoring the future protest strategies of the President's anti-war opponents. And damaging information was being leaked to the media.

The Suspects Investigate

As soon as word of King's murder reached Atlanta, an FBI supervisor there began jumping up and down in glee, repeating: "They finally got the son-of-a-bitch." While it is not known how widely this sentiment was shared in the Bureau, one thing is clear; in a serious murder probe, numerous FBI personnel would have been suspects. Instead, they were the investigators.

The House Assassinations Committee dissected the FBI's investigation and found it ridden with holes. Almost as soon as the FBI succeeded in tracking down accused gunman James Earl Ray two months after the killing, the FBI's probe began to wind down. The Justice Department and the FBI—in the understated conclusion of the committee—"failed to investigate adequately the possibility of conspiracy." Actually, the committee found a virtual indifference as to whether a conspiracy lay behind Ray.

The committee criticized the Bureau for its failure to investigate the possible involvement of Ray's two brothers, both ex-cons. When James Earl Ray purchased his rifle days before the assassination, he told several witnesses at the gunshop that he was "going hunting" with his brother. Unlike James Earl, both of his brothers were avowed racists.

Weeks after the King assassination, brother Jerry Ray indicated that he knew about a $100,000 payoff for the murder. Yet the FBI never undertook an investigation of the claim, in spite of the fact that sometime in 1968, Jerry Ray had befriended one of America's most violent racists, J. B. Stoner, head of the National States Rights Party. Stoner was recently jailed for the 1958 bombing of a Black church in Birmingham.

Besides critiquing the FBI, the Congressional investigation succeeded in stripping away the fiction James Earl Ray had woven about himself as an unwitting, innocent patsy—framed by the mysterious "Raoul." (Ray's attorney, Mark Lane, had gone so far as to call his client a "political prisoner.") The committee brought forward convincing evidence that Ray was stalking Dr. King in the days leading up to Memphis, that "Raoul" was no more than a figment of his imagination and that Ray was in all probability the triggerman.

The St. Louis Conspiracy

The major breakthrough of the House Assassinations Committee was the exposure of a St. Louis conspiracy, which in 1967 was actively offering $50,000 for the King assassination. This kind of payoff intrigued the committee, since it had rejected racism or psychopathology as plausible motives for the killing. The committee concluded that James Earl Ray's "predominant motive lay in an expectation of monetary gain."

The St. Louis conspiracy was headed by two men who had met through local American Independent Party activities in 1967, businessman John Kauffmann and patent lawyer John Sutherland (both now deceased). It was Kauffmann, an underworld figure, who actively tried to broker the assassination. The $50,000 offer was well known at a motel Kauffmann operated as a base for his various criminal activities.

Sutherland, who had founded the St. Louis (White) Citizens Council and had once expressed interest in joining Stoner's States Rights party, was the money man behind the offer. One committee witness described a meeting Kauffmann had escorted him to at Sutherland's house, where Sutherland—clad in a Confederate colonel's hat—offered $50,000 for the killing on behalf of a wealthy, "secret Southern organization." Sutherland was a leader of the Southern States Industrial Council, a low profile but far-right group opposed to unions, civil rights and the peace movement.

The committee suggested that James Earl Ray learned of the offer from his brother John, who picked up such illicit information at his St. Louis bar—the Grape-

vine Tavern—a hotbed for American Independent Party activity. Sutherland financed much of the party's operation in Missouri during the Wallace campaign.

The committee received its first lead on the St. Louis conspiracy in 1978 from an FBI report which had been "mistakenly" buried for four years by the Bureau. The report alleged that Kauffmann "was actually the individual who made the payoff of James Earl Ray after the killing." Two years before the committee learned of the St. Louis lead, one of Ray's former lawyers told this writer that Ray himself had once admitted he received money from a "St. Louis industrialist" after the murder. If Ray did receive money for his flight to Europe, it was far less than $50,000—for he ran out of funds in London eight weeks after the killing. The committee speculated that the payoff to Ray was botched as a result of "his panicky, unplanned flight abroad."

Assuming that elements within Sutherland's Industrial Council were behind the money offer that induced James Earl Ray's action, it raises questions about the FBI. The best way to describe the relationship between the Nashville-based Industrial Council and the FBI was that of a mutual admiration society. For its part, the council often reprinted the quotations of Chairman Hoover, believing explicitly in the FBI smear that King, as well as the civil rights and peace movements, were "Communist controlled."

Just 11 days after the assassination, council president Thurman Sensing, a close associate of Sutherland, addressed a Daughters of the American Revolution luncheon in Washington D.C., proclaiming: "It is not too much to say, in fact, that Martin Luther King Jr. brought this crime [the assassination] on himself." Ridiculing King's philosophy of disobedience to unjust laws, Sensing went on to suggest: "His assassin may very well have said to himself, 'I think Martin Luther King should be killed. I realize there is a law against murder, but in this case, I think the law is unjust.' " The speech, titled "A Call to Law and Order," blamed urban riots on Communism, liberals and Martin Luther King.

Despite its provocative words about King, the content of the speech was less remarkable than the FBI's reaction to it. While a curious, homicide investigator may have taken note of the speech as evidence that Sensing and Company were the type of people to look at as possible suspects, the reaction of the Washington FBI office was quite the contrary. The FBI supervisor was apparently so favorably impressed by the speech, he furnished a copy to Hoover "in order that the Bureau have the benefit of Mr. Thurman Sensing's thinking on one of our major national problems."

Needless to say, the FBI failed to investigate the leads that would have uncovered the St. Louis plot. In 1968 (when all conspirators were still alive), even a superficial probe could have exposed the $50,000 standing offer at Kauffmann's motel and perhaps at John Ray's St. Louis tavern. In 1974, when evidence of the plot fell into the FBI's lap, two St. Louis agents inexplicably decided to ignore the lead which came to them in an informant's report. Kauffmann, at the time, was still alive.

Reckless Homicide?

While no proof has ever developed of active FBI involvement in the King assassination, it does not take a great imagination to wonder about passive involvement. Did FBI agents—perhaps ideological friends of Sutherland—know about the plot or know of Ray's stalking King, and simply look the other way? This kind of question is easy to ask and nearly impossible to answer.

Perhaps Congressman Louis Stokes, the chairman of the House Assassinations Committee, framed the best question when he asked if the FBI had committed a reckless homicide in the King assassination. Stokes questioned whether conspirators may have been "inflamed by the FBI's unlawful propaganda." He suggested the Bureau may have helped created a climate in which King's murder "was not only thinkable, but could be thought of as justifiable."

It seems obvious that the FBI intended its propaganda effort against King to be inflammatory. A particularly graphic example was a media ploy initiated by the Bureau exactly a week before the assassination, and bearing fruit two days later in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. That day's paper contained an editorial diatribe accusing King of being "one of the most menacing men in America." The editorial blamed King for violence that had broken out in Memphis during his march in support of striking garbagemen, and it warned that "Memphis could be only the prelude to a massive bloodbath" at King's upcoming Poor People's Campaign in Washington.

If the FBI's inflammatory role is grounds for a reckless homicide charge as Congressman Stokes intimates, then what about the role of those White House officials who actively collaborated with the FBI in stimulating the anti-King climate? What responsibility do they share for King's demise?

Through the years, Martin Luther King was bombed, beaten and stabbed; over 50 different death threats were recorded. He was always unarmed, without bodyguards, marching on public streets in hot situations, taking on first the Southern power structure and then the North, feared and despised by men large and small.

One wonders how these officials could have been so blind to King's extreme vulnerability. □

Jeff Cohen is a Los Angeles lawyer and journalist.

Martin Luther King on the Memphis balcony where he was later shot *Photo by Wide World*

DEADLY DECEITS

After 25 years with "the Company," a disgusted agent accuses the CIA of being an enforcer for the White House, not an intelligence-gathering agency.

Ralph W. McGehee spent twenty-five years as a loyal employee of "the Company," the CIA. He enlisted in 1952 as a super-patriot at the height of the Cold War; he left in 1977 disillusioned and shattered by what he had seen and learned, especially in Vietnam. After long years of doubt and soul-searching he authored his personal account of life in the CIA, which appeared this year under the title Deadly Deceits. *His observations about the sinister secret identity of his former firm are both shocking and sobering, we think, and should be required reading for any responsible citizen.*

The book from which the following passages are excerpted, had a troublesome birth. Because of a secrecy agreement signed by McGehee when he was employed at the CIA, "the Company" insisted on reviewing the book before publication. That resulted in a two-year-long negotiation process in which the CIA asked for nearly 400 deletions or reference modifications. But even CIA censorship and reshapings could not delete the powerful message that McGehee has for the American people—The editors.

By Ralph McGehee

It was late one night in December 1968 in Gia Dinh province near Saigon. Angered and miserable, I was sitting alone in the living room of a villa sparsely furnished with standard government-issue rattan tables and kapok-cushioned sofa and chairs. A bare coffee table and empty book shelves signaled the recent transition from one CIA occupant to another. Outside, helicopter gunships circled, and off in the distance B-52s dropped another string of bombs on South Vietnamese men, women.

I sat there in agony thinking about all that had led me to this private hell. My idealism, my patriotism, my ambition, my plans to be a good intelligence officer to help my country fight the Communist scourge—what in hell had happened? Why did we have to bomb the people we were trying to save? Why were we napalming young children? Why did the CIA, my employer for 16 years, report lies instead of the truth?

I hated my part in this charade of murder and horror. My efforts were contributing to the deaths, to the burning alive of children—especially the children. The photographs of young Vietnamese children burned by napalm destroyed me. I wanted out of this massacre.

It was at this moment of utter despair back in that ugly room in Gia Dinh that the seed of this memoir—this confession—was first planted. For I realized then that I had to do something to fight the terrible things I had seen the CIA do. I knew then that the United States and the CIA had gone very wrong. I had been tempted to kill myself, but that was not the answer. I had to stay alive and tell what I had found out. I owed that much to the American people—and to myself.

I want to reveal now to those who still believe in the myths of the CIA what it actually is and what it actually does. My explanation will not include the usual pap fed to us by Agency spokesmen. My view, backed by 25 years of experience is, quite simply, that the CIA is the covert action arm of the Presidency. Most of its money, manpower and energy go into covert operations that, as we have seen over the years, include backing dictators and overthrowing democratically elected governments—all toward the end of fostering an international anti-communist ideology by linking every equalitarian political movement to the scourge of international communism.

The CIA is not an intelligence agency. In fact, it acts largely as an anti-intelligence agency, producing only that information wanted by policymakers to support their plans and suppressing information that does not support those plans. As the covert action arm of the President, the CIA uses disinformation, much of it aimed at the U.S. public, to mold opinion. It employs the gamut of disinformation techniques from forging documents to planting and discovering "communist" weapons caches. But the major weapon in its arsenal is the disinformation it feeds to policymakers. Instead of gathering genuine intelligence that could serve as the basis for reasonable policies, the CIA often ends up distorting reality, creating "intelligence" out of whole cloth to justify policies that have already been decided upon. Policymakers then leak this "intelligence" to the media to deceive us all and gain our support.

The Vietnam War was the Agency's greatest and longest disinformation operation. From 1954 until we were ejected in 1975, the Agency lied in its intelligence while propagandizing the American people. Even now Agency historians and ex-employees try to perpetuate the propaganda themes through which it tried first to win and later to maintain American support for the war. As recently as April 22, 1981, former CIA director William Colby wrote an article for *The Washington Post*, portraying the Vietnam War—even in light of the *Pentagon Papers* disclosures—as the altruistic U.S. coming to the assistance of the South Vietnamese people. He had the audacity to recommend

the period from 1968 to 1972—the era of CIA assassination teams—as a model for use in El Salvador.

Not much has changed since I left the Agency in 1977. It follows all the same patterns and uses the same techniques. We have seen this in El Salvador, where it fabricated evidence for a White Paper the same way it did in Vietnam in 1961 and 1965. We have seen it in Iran, where it cut itself off from all contact with potential revolutionary groups to support the Shah. We have seen it in the recruitment ads seeking ex-military personnel to man its paramilitary programs. We have seen it in relation to Nicaragua, where it arms Miskito Indians in an attempt to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. In this case it again exploits a naive minority people who

Ralph McGehee was a Notre Dame tackle in 1949.

will be discarded as soon as their usefulness ends, as happened with the Hmong in Laos. We have seen it in its attempts to rewrite and censor the truth. I personally experienced this kind of Agency effort recently when it censored an article I wrote about its successful operation to overthrow the government of Achmed Sukarno of Indonesia in 1965. Its operations under President Reagan have become so outrageous that even the House of Representatives Intelligence Committee protested its plans to overthrow Qaddafi of Libya.

As long as the CIA continues to run these kinds of operations, it will not and cannot gather and collate intelligence as its charter says it must do. This leaves our government without that essential service. The most powerful and potentially most dangerous nation in the world is forced to rely on CIA disinformation rather than genuine intelligence because currently there is no alternative. This situation in today's world of poised doomsday weapons is not acceptable.

But the danger today looms even greater. The Reagan Administration has taken steps to strengthen the Agency's position. On December 4, 1981, in Executive Order 12333 entitled "United States Intelligence Activities," the President gave the CIA the right to conduct its illegal operations in the United States, and on April 2, 1982, in Executive Order 12356 entitled "National Security Information," he limited the public's access to government documents, thereby increasing the CIA's ability to hide from public scrutiny. The President wants the Agency free from the constraints of public exposure so that it can gather and fabricate its disinformation unharried by criticisms and so that it can overthrow governments without the knowledge of the American people. Such activities, of course, are not in the best interests of the vast majority of Americans. For example, whenever another factory moves to a foreign country whose leader is kept in power through Agency operations, more American jobs are lost. Only the rich American increases his profits. It is for this reason that I believe that President Reagan acts as the representative of wealthy America and, as his executive agency, the CIA acts to benefit the rich.

Even after the Agency's conspicuous failures in Vietnam, Cuba, the Middle East and elsewhere, the fable that the CIA gathers real intelligence dies hard. But if the Agency actually reported the truth about the Third World, what would it say? It would say that the United States installs foreign leaders, arms their armies, and empowers their police all to help those leaders repress an angry, defiant people; that the CIA-empowered leaders represent only a small fraction who kill, torture and impoverish their own people to maintain their position of privilege. This is true intelligence, but who wants it? So instead of providing true intelligence, the Agency labels the oppressed as lackeys of Soviet or Cuban or Vietnamese communism fighting not for their lives but for their communist masters. It is difficult to sell this story when the facts are otherwise, so the Agency plants weapons shipments, forges documents, broadcasts false propaganda, transforms reality. Thus it creates a new reality that it then believes and wants us to believe.

Efforts to create a workable intelligence service must begin by abolishing the CIA. For a host of reasons, I believe the CIA as it now exists cannot be salvaged. The fundamental problem is that Presidents and their National Security Councils want the CIA as a covert action agency, not an intelligence agency. As long as the CIA is subject to such politically oriented control, it cannot produce accurate intelligence. Because the CIA has been and is a covert action agency, all of its operating practices have been adopted to facilitate such operations while its intelligence-collection activities have been tailored to the requirements of these covert efforts. The Agency's difficulties begin with the selection of personnel who are chosen based on personality characteristics essential for covert operations, not intelligence. The problem continues with the formation of operating rules that serve to foil the production of accurate intelligence while facilitating the implementation of covert operations. Until those factors are altered, the CIA cannot function as an intelligence agency.

Covert operations must be removed from the CIA and placed in an entirely separate government agency. I would prefer recommending the total abolition of covert operations, but that is impossible given the current world political realities. However, if a new covert action agency consisted of a handful of knowledgeable people who could, in emergency situations, pull together the necessary manpower to conduct a specific covert operation, then the chance of its duplicating the abuses of the CIA would be lessened.

If an administration at any point decided it wanted a true intelligence service, it could be easily created. But it would not be enough merely to separate covert operations from intelligence. Accurate intelligence demands an atmosphere free of political pressure. One obvious solution revolves around identifying individuals possessing recognized ability, integrity and flexibility and giving such individuals lifetime or long-term non-renewable appointments to a board controlling intelligence requirements and production. That board, augmented by top graduates of political science schools in one-year clerkships, would provide the independent analytical judgment necessary for valid intelligence. Expecting our system to grant that independent authority may be unrealistic. But trained analysts, working with all-source information, overseen by a "Supreme Court" of intelligence, would help to guarantee the production of accurate intelligence. Establishing a truly effective intelligence agency is no problem. The only problem is getting our leaders to want one, and that problem may be insurmountable.

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Interview with Scott Barnes

Barnes with a Lao guerrilla in Ban Phang, Thailand

An ex-CIA operative searching for American P.O.W.s claims the agency ordered him to shoot first and ask no questions later.

Scott Barnes is a 29-year-old ex-police officer from Southern California. He also says he is a former contract officer with the CIA. Barnes surfaced in March of last year claiming that he had been part of a U.S. government-supported team of ex-Green Berets who crossed from Thailand into Laos in October 1981 to search for American prisoners of war. Barnes says when his team finally located and photographed two Caucasions in a prison camp, they received orders to assassinate the prisoners. Barnes says the team, led by former Green Beret Colonel James "Bo" Gritz, also got support from Congressman Robert Dornan. Gritz and Dornan deny the story, but Barnes sticks by it. He took his story to ABC News, to Jack Anderson and to the Boston Globe, but none of those outlets would run it. Finally, his case got an airing in the pages of the Covert Action Information Bulletin. *CAIB Staff member William Schaap conducted the following interview with Barnes, who begins his story by explaining how he got involved in the POW rescue mission.*

Barnes: I was over in Hawaii to visit a friend who was sick. An ex-SOG [Secret Operating Group] operator got in touch with me about this proposal, which we all thought was a rescue mission. Bo Gritz got in touch with me through the SOG guys who had told him that I knew Vang Pao, the Laotian General who'd frequently worked with the CIA. Bo Gritz was under cover, pretending to work for Hughes Aircraft. He said that he was involved in Operation Velvet Hammer and that the government came in and asked him to publicly step down so they could secretly go in there [Laos] and try to verify via SR-71 reconnaissance photos and some reconnaissance groups, and so he did that in June of '81, and then General Aaron out of the Pentagon has asked him to prepare for an "invasion into Laos."

Schaap: *An invasion by whom?*

Barnes: An invasion by American special forces. And he said it would be a three-team crossing, and he had ordered some very sophisticated weapons, contacts, and he asked for a meeting with General Vang Pao, so I arranged that, and he asked for a meeting with Congressman Bob Dornan [Rep. Calif.] and I arranged that.

Bo wanted these meetings because the Agency figured it'd be a good cover to use Congressman Dornan. We had some phony business cards made up with our names, that we were staff aides to Congressman Dornan. That way, while down there, we could claim political asylum if we got caught at any of the cross-border checks.

Schaap: *Did Dornan know all about this?*

Barnes: Oh, yeah. He set up a meeting with General David Jones, and was conferring with General Jones and President Reagan on the matter.

Schaap: *Do you know if any other Members of Congress knew about it?*

Barnes: No others. Nobody else knew. Nobody. We dubbed it Operation Bohica. And then in October he arranged for some Agency aides and some Green Berets to come out, and we met in Westchester [California].

Schaap: *How many people were there?*

Barnes: There were six Americans, and there were four others who were shadowing us to make sure we weren't followed or we didn't back out, and I never met them. I don't know who they were.

Schaap: *Were the six all former Green Berets?*

Barnes: All but one. One was an intelligence analyst out of Ft. Meade, Maryland. So then Bo said that we got the approval from the Agency to go ahead, with about two days' planning. He'd gotten some of those phony business cards made, and we were to use a Telex in the Department of Energy communications center in Washington DC to send overseas Telexes via a code. That way, foreign agents intercepting information wouldn't suspect that we used a DOE Telex. We met with the station chief for the CIA at the United States Embassy in Bangkok. Prior to that, I had been down at the Embassy and met with an Agency helicopter pilot. I was at the Embassy in June to prepare the future operation of October, November. And I met with Defense Intelligence Agency people, and then I touched bases with some foreign types of agents that were helping us out through General Vang Pao.

Schaap: *You said there was a foreign intelligence person with you?*

Barnes: Yes. We were cooperating with another country's agent. I think he was out of China. We were trying to work something out with the Chinese People's Republic. They were going to "slap the hand of Vietnam" while a lot of guerrilla activity was going on, in Mahaxai, Gnommerat, the Mugia Pass and Nape in Laos. Well, when we were down there we equipped a team of indigenous to take a team across the Mekong River and verified that there were two Caucasians, known or unknown, and that they were Americans.

Schaap: *This was across the river from where to where?*

Barnes: We went across at Ban Pheng, Thailand, straight across 47 km. roughly to Mahaxai, just a little bit to the west of Mahaxai in Laos.

Schaap: *When you say verified, you mean somebody actually got to see them?*

Barnes: Yes. We had some 30-odd indigenous forces with us. And then Daniel Arnold, the former station chief for the CIA in Bangkok, sent some communications telling us that Bo Gritz was cut off, no longer to send messages to him and no longer to trust him.

Schaap: *He was not with you on the mission?*

Barnes: No, no. He stayed in the United States. So then the Chief of Station from the U.S. Embassy brought up a coded message through some of his agents from Nakhon Phanom, and we put that together with a Telex message we got back from Langley, Virginia, telling us in essence if these are in fact Americans, assassinate them. And we got in an argument, and split, and went our ways.

Schaap: *Did you all go back to the base in Thailand where you started out from?*
Barnes: Yes. We all went back to Bangkok and decided to disband quickly. Two of the Green Berets decided that they were going to go to Hawaii and lay low for about a week before returning to the mainland, and then they were going to disappear. And another guy decided that he was going to go to Japan and then filter on back to the United States via Canada.
Schaap: *So far as you know, everybody got back their own separate ways?*
Barnes: Yeah, as far as I know. I only talked to one of them some time ago, and he said, "Forget we ever went, forget we ever talked to anybody."
Schaap: *Did you ever learn or suspect what it was that the Americans who were captured in Laos might have known or what it was they didn't want the Laotians to find out from them?*
Barnes: Two things. One is that possibly the United States was involved in bringing chemical warfare, biological stuff over there. The other one was that these guys might have been involved in a secret operation as late as '79 or '80 and gotten captured. And could tell some pretty horrendous stories about what was really going on if they were forced to. And it was best that they not ever come back.
Schaap: *Was there any reason to believe that whatever it was that they knew they would not already have revealed?*
Barnes: There's no way of really telling. But nothing ever came out through international channels.
Schaap: *Do you know if the area where the Americans were being held was anywhere near the region where evidence of yellow rain was supposedly being found?*
Barnes: It was right in that area. About which Haig himself made the same accusation last year.
Schaap: *Did you ever hear from anyone else from the mission after you got back to the U.S.?*
Barnes: The only person I heard from was John. ["John" also spoke with us by phone and confirmed all of Barnes's story, but refused to say where he was. John said he wanted Barnes's story to come out, because he was frightened, and had heard that two of the members of the mission had met untimely deaths, one in Libya and one in Guatemala.]
Schaap: *How did John know how to reach you?*
Barnes: Well, I left a number for him that I would be at for a week, and we contacted each other and decided that it was best we never say anything happened, but we'll keep a close eye on the local newspapers. And next thing we know, Bo Gritz is going all over the country talking.
Schaap: *Do you have any idea why Bo started talking?*
Barnes: Yes. We think it is because he was supposed to come back and work out of DIA Section 7B as a full bird colonel, and was turned down. I think as an insurance policy he decided to start talking. Because he got pressure from the Secret Service about the Middle East connection.
Schaap: *You mean he came under pressure for things unrelated to Laos?*
Barnes: Right.
Schaap: *What kind of stuff was that?*
Barnes: About some Special Forces guys going to Chad and Sudan, and a couple of guys he had sent down to El Salvador to start doing some training, and allegedly the United States wasn't doing any of this stuff. He was trying to get teams together to send to obscure places in El Salvador, recruiting some of the old people. I think one of the guys from our mission is there now.
Schaap: *Was Gritz working freelance or for the CIA at this point?*
Barnes: This was all under the direction of the Agency. Matter of fact, I'll give you their extension number back at Langley if you want it.
Schaap: *Let's have it.*
Barnes: Call area code 202, 351-1100, and ask for extension (deleted). That's supposedly called (deleted), which is apparently where (deleted) was in charge of covert defense operations.
Schaap: *Did you ever call him there?*
Barnes: I did once. The day I got back to the United States I called, asked for the extension, and gave the code name Bohica, and the guy says, give me your number and let me secure a line. And he called back. He said, "Forget this thing ever existed."
Schaap: *But did you ask him why you weren't told up front that you were going to be ordered to kill American POWs?*
Barnes: I asked him that and he just said, "You don't know anything, you didn't hear anything, nobody knows anything, this number doesn't exist. Just take the money and go have a good time."
Schaap: *We understand some journalists get in touch with you soon after this.*
Barnes: Right. I got a call from a couple of guys out of the Pentagon who knew all about this that I had been dealing with, and they said, "Look, we were duped too, this whole thing was wrong, and we're going to give you some names of people, numbers to contact and don't tell them you heard from us in the Pentagon," and I'm not going to tell anybody who they were, so they can feel safe.
Schaap: *So they thought, as you did, that this was a rescue mission?*
Barnes: They themselves all thought and Deputy Bobby Inman of the CIA, he himself thought, it was a rescue mission too, he said. He said, if this was true, that we were going to assassinate people, they had to be renegades. He said it might be people like Wilson and Terpil or Agee or Marchetti or agents like that who are no good any more.
Schaap: *How could he say that?*
Barnes: He was just using their names as former agents being renegade, who could have used Agency communications or Agency funding to conduct their own secret operation.
Schaap: *Did you actually speak with Inman personally?*
Barnes: No, Ted Koppel did, and related that back to me.
Schaap: *How did Inman explain the fact that the instructions to assassinate the POWs came from Langley?*
Barnes: He said, "Prove it." And Koppel said, "Okay, let's go to the Department of Energy communications center and see all the Telexes from this date to this date under Subject Bohica." And then Inman flipped his head and said, "How do you guys know about Subject Bohica?" And he said that due to national security, nothing can be discussed. He said there's a law coming to pass, if you guys start revealing agents' names, you're going to be tried and prosecuted criminally.
Schaap: *So everybody who seems to have known anything about it is taking the position that they all thought it was an operation to rescue someone, not to kill someone?*
Barnes: Right.
Schaap: *And yet the coded messages came both from Langley and from the Chief of Station.*
Barnes: Right. At the U.S. Embassy.
Schaap: *What sort of a plan was supposed to be involved when you found out you were supposed to kill people instead of rescue them?*
Barnes: If we couldn't accomplish it, we had large sums of money to give to certain indigenous, and *one* of *them* would carry out any orders, no matter what they were. As far as I know, he may have accomplished it.
Schaap: *You never got any details from there once you left?*
Barnes: No. Once we left, I cut communications. I talked to General Vang Pao about three or four weeks ago, and he just said, "The thing for us to do right now is, we never knew each other."
Schaap: *Have you offered to testify before the Intelligence Committee?*
Barnes: Yes, I told them, "Give me a government polygraph exam. I got photos. I'll bring you documentation." And they said, "You don't understand what you're proposing. You went across a sovereign nation's border. In other words, you engaged in an act of war." And I said, "I know that, and it was wrong, because I wouldn't have said anything if we were going to rescue, but when I found out what the truth was, I think it's wrong." And he said, "So do I." I said, "Then let's have a Senate hearing." and he said, "We *are* having hearings, but they're secret. We don't want the public to know." I said, "Why not? Why don't you want them to know the truth?" "Why do *you?*he asked me. I hope this answers him.

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U.S. Intelligence and International TERRORISM

By John Cummings

". . . The men and women of the CIA are the eyes and ears of the free world. Like those who are part of any silent service, your sacrifices are sometimes unappreciated, your work sometimes misunderstood."

RONALD REAGAN, June 23, 1982

The last two weeks of April, 1982, are part of a "twilight zone" scenario that Douglas Schwartz will not soon forget. Like many a federal prosecutor before him, he was learning that sometimes the toughest part of his job wasn't doing battle with crime, but fighting with his own employer: The U.S. government, and particularly the "silent service."

Schwartz, then an assistant U.S. attorney in San Diego, was on the verge of returning indictments in a major car-theft ring that delivered high-priced autos stolen in California to customers in Mexico, mostly Mexican police officials.

Now, the man who was the linch-pin of the entire ring was within Schwartz' reach, in fact, within U.S. borders. But Schwartz' attempts to arrest him were being stonewalled by the Department of Justice itself. The target, the prosecutor was learning fast, had friends in high places for not-so-obvious reasons.

Miguel Nassar Haro, until January 1982 the top national security official of the Mexican government, was being shielded from arrest by no less than the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

This, despite the fact that the FBI had found that the 52-year-old Nassar was a thief, possibly a murderer, a terrorist, a torturer, a gunrunner and, very likely, a drug trafficker. And Nassar was something else, too, he was a CIA "asset," a euphemism for an informer.

Although few Americans had heard of Nassar until that spring, he was, as it turned out, no stranger to the Justice Department. And while the evidence is not completely clear, it is clear that Schwartz was not the first federal prosecutor to run afoul of Nassar.

The Mexican official, and his associates, had sandbagged at least two previous critical investigations of international terrorism.

In one instance, an American intelligence asset and the CIA had attempted to mislead federal authorities looking into the murder of former Chilean Foreign Minister Orlando Letelier, who was killed with an American co-worker when a bomb exploded in his car on embassy row in Washington.

Orlando Letelier's car after the explosion *Photo by Wide World*

In another case, an official of the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City, who himself had reportedly engaged in terrorist bombings, had attempted to derail a federal prosecutor's investigation in Miami; an investigation dealing with the attempted kidnaping by Cuban exiles from Miami of a Cuban diplomat.

And finally, the prosecutor from Miami learned that Nassar himself had destroyed evidence the prosecutor needed to indict the exiles.

But Schwartz could not have known that back in April. He was only a small piece in a much larger puzzle. For more than a year, the CIA and a U.S. embassy official in Mexico City had been fending off Schwartz and the FBI who were probing Nassar's role in the car-theft ring.

Nassar seemd too big to touch. For years he had been head of the DFS, the Mexican state security agency that functions as combined CIA and FBI. (He left his post in January, 1982, a political casualty of the Mexican election.)

As such, he had been a key man in Mexico City, which had always been a center for international intrigue. The Russians maintain a large embassy, and a major espionage center there, as do the Cubans. For years, Mexico was the only Latin American country that maintained diplomatic relations with Fidel Castro.

The CIA needed Nassar as an asset because his agency spied regularly on such unfriendly embassies and often shared what they learned with the CIA. But bugging embassies wasn't Nassar's only talent. During his years as head of DFS he earned a reputation as a man who always got the information he was seeking from victims who were tortured in the soundproof rooms of the Mexico City headquarters.

The fact that he had broken U.S. laws in California was immaterial to the higher-ups in Washington. He was being blindly protected by the CIA and even Ronald Reagan, who was preparing to sign a law making it a crime to reveal the identity of a CIA agent or informer.

What turned Schwartz's case in San Diego into a national scandal was that Schwartz's boss, U.S. Attorney William Kennedy, himself a Reagan Republican, was fired by Reagan because Kennedy revealed in a San Diego newspaper Nassar's CIA connections and his involvement in the car-theft ring. Had the law making it a crime to reveal a CIA asset been in effect at that time, Kennedy might well be under indictment today.

And Nassar was no innocent pawn. According to one FBI affidavit filed in federal court in San Diego, Nassar personally received some of the stolen cars himself.

"In June or July, 1979," said the FBI affidavit, one of the ringleaders . . . "traveled to DFS headquarters in Mexico City and obtained orders for stolen vehicles . . . the vehicles were subsequently stolen in California and delivered to DFS headquarters in Tijuana—just across the Mexican border from San Diego. Miguel Nassar . . . inspected the stolen vehicles and had a number of his DFS agents accompany the stolen vehicles to Mexico City."

The affidavit states that Nassar admitted later to Gordon McGinley, an FBI agent attached to the U.S. Embassy in Mexico as a legal attache, that Nassar received one of the stolen cars, but denied knowing it was stolen. McGinley became one of the major obstacles to the investigation and kept stonewalling the Justice Department because the CIA and the embassy considered Nassar a valuable source in Mexico and Central America in general, even though Nassar had been out of office for more than three months.

"It's ironic," said Schwartz recently in an interview in San Francisco where he is now in private law practice, "that our intelligence was coming from a man who is a car thief at best and a murderer at worst."

But Nassar must have thought he had nothing to fear because in April, 1982, he boldly came into the United States to file a libel suit against *Time Magazine* for its stories on his involvement in the car-theft operation.[1] As Nassar was parading around Los Angeles, Schwartz was still unable to get approval from Washington to put his hands on Nassar.

"They wanted an actual 'sighting,'" Schwartz said. "They insisted that the FBI actually eyeball him before they would authorize a warrant." Unbeknownst to Washington, Schwartz had ordered the FBI to tail Nassar from the moment he arrived in the U.S.

"What was galling to me was that he was using our courts to flout our system of justice," Schwartz said. But the prosecutor learned that Nassar was planning to hold a news conference in the office of the attorney Marvin Mitchelson, who had filed the libel suit. Schwartz called Mitchelson's office in Los Angeles, claiming to be a reporter for CBS and asked about attending the conference. Mitchelson invited him right in.

When Schwartz reported this to Washington and told his superiors when and where Nassar could be found, they finally backed down and authorized a subpoena to bring Nassar before a federal grand jury, but held back two days before authorizing a warrant for Nassar's arrest.

The FBI finally arrested Nassar on April 23 as he emerged from the grand jury. Over Schwartz' protest, a judge set bail at $200,000, which Nassar posted and then left for Mexico. In May, when Nassar failed to appear in San Diego for a court appearance, a bench warrant was issued for his arrest. But he can only be returned now if the Mexican government agrees.

No one, based on Nassar's history and against the background of U.S. intelligence dealings in Mexico, is taking any bets that Schwartz got half a loaf, but another federal prosecutor fared far worse, again because of Nassar.

On July 23, 1976, Cuban Consul Daniel Ferrer Fernandez was stepping into his car in the Yucatan city of Merida when two men approached him and announced that they intended to kidnap him. The Cuban diplomat ran and escaped, ducking several shots fired at him. But the assailants killed his chauffeur. In the ensuing melee, a man identified as a Cuban exile, was arrested. A second man, named Gaspaer Jimenez, was seized a day later as he landed in Mexico City aboard a Mexican airliner, his hand still wrapped in a bloody towel.

In his suitcase, Mexican police found explosives and blasting caps along with handwritten notes indicating that he intended to bomb the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City on July 26, a Cuban holiday.

A third man named Gustavo Castillo, like Jimenez, a Cuban exile, escaped. A few days later he turned up at his home in Miami.

Jimenez was a member of *Accion Cubana*, one of the anti-Castro exile terrorist groups that had just met in the Dominican Republic to form an umbrella group called CORU. The meeting was called, some say, at the behest of the CIA to put a stop to the violent quarrels raging between exile groups, quarrels that had spilled over into a skein of murders and bombings. Though the exile groups all hate Castro, they have little else in common.

At the CORU meeting, *Accion Cubana*—along with members of the Brigade 2506 Veterans Organization, a group of survivors of the Bay of Pigs invasion, one of the largest and most respected exile groups in the Florida area—joined with the far right extremist groups vowing to bomb Cuban diplomatic missions and airlines offices throughout the world. They even drew up maps to assign areas of operations to each group.

The Mexican kidnaping attempt, coming as it did just a month after the CORU meeting, troubled then-Assistant U.S. Attorney Jerome Sanford in Miami, who suspected that the Merida incident was part of a long-range terrorist plan hatched in Miami, and, if so, violated U.S. neutrality laws. He believed the exiles intended to operate as a kind of Cuban PLO with Miami as their Beirut.

So Sanford began to investigate, but his experience, unlike Schwartz', did not have even a reasonably successful ending. In fact Sanford today describes it as "a nightmare."

"I felt," Sanford said of his investigation of the exiles, "that if these guys, such as the ones in Mexico, were so brazen to kidnap a diplomat . . . this stuff had gone too far."

But it continued to go on. Letelier was killed two months later in Washington. The following month, CORU took credit for blowing up a Cuban airliner as it took off for Barbados, killing all 73 persons aboard. Ricardo Morales, a man with a long record as CIA asset and FBI informant, swore in a recent court deposition in Florida that he supplied the explosives that destroyed the airliner and that he was the "control" of the two men who planted the bomb on the plane. One of Morales' men who planted the bomb had attended the CORU meeting.

Back at the end of July, 1976, when Sanford read the first State Department reports on the Merida incident, he learned that one of the conspirators, Castillo, was back in Miami doing business as usual. Sanford assumed the Mexicans knew this, but they made no effort to extradite Castillo.

Initial FBI reports indicated that the weapons and explosives used in the Merida case had been gathered in Miami and that gave Sanford probable cause to convene a grand jury. It was in gathering this early evidence that Sanford, a young man who found all this intrigue heady stuff, first heard the name of a Cuban exile who was

[1] The suit has since been dismissed (SJM 1-19-83). [ed.note]

to become a center of his attention. The exile was Armando Lopez Estrada, who held the title of "military coordinator" of the Brigade 2506 veterans group.

Trained and landed at the Bay of Pigs by the CIA, Lopez Estrada was one of the few to escape from the beachhead at the 1961 invasion that ended in defeat. Today, Lopez Estrada still feels betrayed by the United States. [His continuing efforts to mount an invasion of Cuba led to Lopez Estrada's indictment by Sanford. He was later acquitted because of what Sanford feels was a lack of cooperation by the CIA.]

But in July, 1976, those events were still in the future. Sanford's interest was Mexico, and he learned that the Mexicans were questioning a man named Francisco Manuel Camargo. (Mark that name!) He was to figure prominently in the Merida investigation.

Camargo, a Cuban exile himself, represented Brigade 2506 in Mexico and was married to the daughter of a prominent Mexican military officer with high intelligence connections. Though Camargo was not believed to have been involved directly in the Merida assassination, police found his name on the conspirator, Jimenez, when he was arrested.

It was written on the back of a business card of Lopez Estrada and obviously meant for Jimenez to give to Camargo as a form of introduction. The message began "Dear Manolo (Camargo)." In the message Lopez Estrada asked Camargo "to take care of" Jimenez, saying that Jimenez was a close friend. Later, an informant in Mexico told the FBI that Camargo was more than a contact man for Jimenez. "He (Camargo) personally planned the operation," a Justice Department document reports the informant as saying.

And this is where Nassar enters the picture. The informant also said that Camargo knew Nassar very well and that they were close friends.

Camargo's role became even more interesting in the mid-summer of 1976 after the Merida incident. An FBI agent attached to the embassy in Mexico told Sanford he was sending the prosecutor a packet of documents compiled by the Mexican police on the Merida case.

An American working under diplomatic cover in Mexico "volunteered" to bring the documents to Sanford in Miami "as a courtesy." We will call him Raul. A naturalized Cuban, he still works today for the U. S. government, an interesting fact in light of what happened.

On August 1, 1976, Raul took the sealed packet of documents and boarded a flight in Mexico for Miami. What happened next was described in a Justice Department memorandum: "As a matter of courtesy, (Raul) agreed to hand deliver material in an envelope concerning the attempted kidnapping of the Cuban consul (in Merida) to agents of the Miami office of the FBI. The envelope was sealed by the FBI legal attache (in Mexico). The envelope (when delivered by Raul in Miami) was unsealed. Miami FBI agents advised (Raul) that they had interviewed Manolo Camargo regarding the attempted kidnapping with no positive results. (Raul) advised the agents that Camargo *was previously of interest to the CIA*."

The term, "of interest," is an intelligence euphemism meaning that at some point Camargo was worked with the CIA in some capacity.[2]

The packet delivered in Miami included statements Jimenez had given the Mexican police about the kidnaping attempt and exile operations under the CORU banner; how CORU was to operate and how it had divided the hemisphere in "zones" to coordinate terrorist actions.

The FBI agent waiting for Raul in Miami, after receiving the unsealed packet, decided to follow Raul as he made his way through the Miami airport and found that Raul was met by none other than *Camargo* himself.

They were unable to provide the evidence . . . the evidence had become misplaced.

With Camargo was another shadowy exile figure, Bernardo de Torres, a man who always shows up on the fringe of violence and a man serves as the "ersatz" foreign minister of Brigade 2506. More about de Torres later.

"The FBI was furious that (Raul) had opened the documents," Sanford recalled. "And they said they were going to report it to the internal security division of the Justice Department." If any action was taken against Raul, it was never made public. He still works for the government.

It also struck Sanford as odd that Jimenez' wife had the funds to visit her husband repeatedly in jail in Mexico, and that on several occasions she had met with Raul while in Mexico. Sanford wondered where she got the money and why she met so often with Raul.

But Sanford learned that Raul was more than just a friend to prominent exile terrorists; that in 1975, Raul, though attached officially to the U.S. Embassy in Mexico, took part in two terrorist acts himself—including the bombing of the Soviet ambassador's car.

An FBI source in Mexico, according to Justice Department documents stated that he "was advised by Lopez Estrada that (Raul) had been involved in bombings of the Soviet diplomatic establishment and a Cuban embassy vehicle in November, 1975 . . . Lopez Estrada told the source that Manuel Camargo, 2506 representative in Mexico (and Raul), a U.S. Embassy official in Mexico, were also involved.

"Lopez Estrada told the source that it had taken a while to 'turn' (Raul) to their way of thinking and that the man responsible for influencing (Raul) had been Camargo. The source advised that Camargo had told him that (Raul) drove his own vehicle to transport explosives and arms used in the November, 1975, operation. Camargo also told the source that two men and a woman, unnamed, from Miami were also involved in that operation and that they were driven to the Mexico-Texas border after the operation in one of Camargo's vehicles."

So, not only was the embassy official leaking evidence to the targets of the Miami investigation, but was also said to have taken part in actual terrorist acts against other foreign diplomatic missions in Mexico City, a year before the Merida kidnaping attempt.

On March 22, 1977, nine months after the Merida incident, Jimenez was taken out of his Mexican jail in a commando-type action that smacked of an intelligence operation. His chief rescuer was a longtime U.S. intelligence asset named Nestor "Tony" Iszquierdo, who had worked for various American intelligence agencies until as least 1967.

Information obtained later by the Department of Justice indicated that Iszquierdo had carried off the escape by ambushing two prison guards on their way to work, tying them up in a barn and using one of their uniforms to gain entrance to the prison to free Jimenez. Jimenez then drove to the Texas border in a car reportedly supplied by Iszquierdo.

Iszquierdo was arrested two days later as he landed in San Antonio and was freed in low bail over Sanford's objections after a former official of the Defense Intelligence Agency drove from his home in Corpus Christi, Tex., to vouch for Iszquierdo. It was later found that the ex-official, a former naval officer, had once been Iszquierdo's "control" during his intelligence career and that he had visited Iszquierdo in Miami 10 days before the escape took place in Mexico.

Several months after the escape, Iszquierdo contacted a CIA source in Mexico and turned over to him several forged documents, driver's licenses and passports, that had been made for the Jimenez escape. Iszquierdo also gave the CIA contact several weapons, including automatic pistols with silencers.

A CIA document stated that at the same time Iszquierdo told the CIA contact that the CIA station chief in Mexico and the

[2] Camargo was also rumored to be "in regular contact" with "narcotics officers" in Mexico City. (Branch and Propper, *Labyrinth*, 185) [ed.note]

FBI attache assigned to the embassy there should be contacted and "advised" that the "Cuban Brigade (Brigade 2506) was responsible for the Letelier assassination."

Why this information was so gratuitously offered, in light of the CIA's reluctance to ever reveal anything, lest it compromise its sources, has never been explained. Iszquierdo died in 1979 fighting against the Sandanistas in Nicaragua.

The CIA memo urged that the information be relayed to Assistant U.S. Attorney Eugene Propper, who was heading the Letelier investigation. Propper, for months, had been led astray by false leads from the CIA. Propper stated in his book *Labyrinth*, that he was informed early in the case that the Brigade was behind the assassination, something Propper found to be untrue.

The author has learned that a lot of that information came primarily from Bernardo de Torres.[3] He was the man waiting with Camargo at the Miami airport when Raul arrived with the documents meant for the FBI. Propper spent almost a year chasing this lead. Eventually he traced Letelier's killers to the Chilean intelligence service and a group of extremist Cuban exiles from New Jersey.

In any event, Jimenez, after his escape, came back to Miami on April 1, 1977, and went about his business without any apparent interest by the Mexican government, which waited almost a year to file an extradition request. The request finally came, in part, because of the furor Sanford was raising in Miami.

In early, 1977, Sanford, accompanied by two FBI agents and a Justice Department attorney sent from Washington, went to Mexico to obtain the evidence they needed to proceed with a neutrality act indictment in Miami. Sanford wanted either the weapons and explosives seized from the exile plotters in Mexico or photos of them. This would be needed to help prove that the Merida kidnaping incident was planned in Miami and that the explosives were purchased there. With that, they could obtain an indictment in Miami, where the exiles had been running amok.

But what seemed easy in its conception became impossible to execute, largely because of Nassar. Sanford and the agents met with the Mexican attorney general and the head of the Mexican federal police. But for reasons they could not explain, they were unable to provide Sanford with the evidence he wanted, or for that matter, anything else. The evidence had become "misplaced."

"It seemed to have just disappeared," Sanford said.

He was then sent to see Nassar at his office. Sanford recalled that the building was surrounded by "gorillas," men he described as being built like "tree stumps." Nassar sat at his desk with a machine gun at his side and a pistol nearby. Sanford recalled that Nassar seemed preoccupied with weapons seizures from Mexican leftists.

Nassar, Sanford said, told him that some leftists had kidnapped some hostages and wanted some ransom. "He (Nassar) told me he had taken some hostages himself and said he had told the leftists that his hostages would be killed in the same manner as any they held," Sanford said.

The American prosecutor had heard of Nassar's "irregulars" who did his dirty work. They were regular DFS officers who worked in what was called the

You can tell that Sanford is angry when his eyelids move.

"Brigada Blanca," or White Brigade. They operated with impunity to terrorize enemies of the state, usually so designated by Nassar himself. They were loyal solely to Nassar and everyone, including the regular police, feared them.

They were armed with weapons, usually Israeli submachine guns, that Nassar was said to have purchased from de Torres. One source, a man who knew de Torres well, described him as a man "who is hard to figure out, you never know which side of the fence he is standing on."

De Torres, other sources said, ran guns into Mexico and drugs out with Nassar's knowledge. In fact, it was common knowledge that when de Torres went to Mexico he was picked up at the airport by Nassar's personal limousine—without having to go through customs or immigration—and swiftly taken to Nassar's office.

One source told Sanford that Nassar wanted to buy "sophisticated exotic weapons" from de Torres, whose only known source of income was a boutique in Miami.[4]

At one point, the FBI learned that de Torres and Camargo went to Nassar and tried to make a deal for Jimenez' freedom. They said 2506 would cease operations in Mexico if Jimenez was freed. And they reportedly said that if harm came to Jimenez, Mexican airliners would be bombed. Nassar reportedly replied them that he didn't care what 2506 did in the United States, but that he would make no deal to free Jimenez. Shortly thereafter, though, Jimenez escaped with Iszquierdo's help.

As for Sanford, his problems only increased after meeting Nassar. The DFS advised him to talk to the authorities in Merida. But in Merida, they were only referred back to Mexico City. And it was on the flight to Merida that Sanford received his most shocking news.

He was told by an FBI agent that Nassar had seized and destroyed the evidence that Sanford had come to Mexico to find. The entire show of "cooperation" from the Mexicans had been a charade from the start. He says today that he was probably too stunned at the time to fully realize what had happened.

Sanford recalled after they walked out of the government building in Merida, one of the FBI agents, sat down, put his face into his hands and said: "No more, no more, I've had it." Sanford's investigation in Miami had gone down the drain.

Eventually, Jimenez and Castillo were extradited to Mexico and are now serving jail sentences. So Sanford saw some justice done, at least in Mexico, because he kept reminding the Mexicans that exiles from Miami had tried to kill a diplomat stationed in their country, a country that outwardly at least professed friendship with Fidel Castro.

Schwartz and Propper see positive aspects to their experiences because of what their investigations revealed.

Sanford takes the exact opposite view. And Sanford, a man not given to displays of emotion, is angry. It is said in Miami that you can tell when he is angry when his eyelids move.

He entered the U.S. attorney's office as a believer in the American judicial system. He ended up carrying a 9 MM automatic pistol with him wherever he went because of threats against his life. He believes his efforts were deliberately undermined in Washington and that every prosecutor in the future will face the same thing he did, given the same circumstances, and will have to wrestle with their own consciences in deciding what to do.

"Why didn't I see things more clearly, why didn't I make demands, why wasn't I more upset, where the hell was my indignation?" Sanford asks now.

"This is hindsight, of course, but reviewing my recollections produces distressing thoughts. Not so much that I could have altered outcomes, but the realization that manipulation was the name of the game. If John Dean was the victim of blind ambition, then I guess I was the victim of blind faith in the system," he said.

For the rest of us, the disturbing questions remain: How many more Miguel Nassars are there out there? And when will the United States stop aiding and abetting them in international terrorism?

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[3] The FBI kept his identity a tightly held secret even from Propper, who knew him only as "Tomboy." In return for his disinformation, de Torres gained protection from the FBI for his other unsavory activities. [ed. note]

[4] De Torres was a dealer for Mitch WerBell's Military Armaments Corp. [ed. note]

THE BLACK HEBREW GANG

Some of the self-proclaimed "chosen people" who turn out to be clerical-collar criminals

By Don Ray

In Chicago, $38,000 in checks stolen from a savings and loan are linked to a clerk typist working there. In Maryland, federal agents arrest a man in connection with a rash of postal jeep breakins. In Washington, D.C. another man is arrested and charged with transporting stolen securities. In Atlanta, local authorities suspect an airline employee of stealing blank airline tickets. Hundreds of blank tickets are also stolen from airline offices at Chicago's O'Hare International Airport—tickets that value $3 million. In Detroit, New York City, Philadelphia, Dallas, Phoenix, Los Angeles and San Francisco other banks, credit card companies, airlines, car rental agencies and retail businesses are losing millions of dollars to similar thefts and embezzlements.

While the victims, the locales and the types of crimes vary, the suspects have one thing in common—they're all members of a religious and racial cult known as the Black Hebrews. Officially called the Original African Hebrew Israelite Nation of Jerusalem, the group's leader has declared himself and his 4,000 or so followers the true Jews and has claimed Israel as their promised land. While more than 2,000 unwelcome Black

Photo by Wide World

Hebrews living illegally in Israel test the tolerance of that country's leaders, scores of faithful followers in the United States are raising money—through sophisticated crimes—to send themselves and others to the "promised land".

And those promises just may come true thanks to the group's best—albeit unwitting—ally, the U.S. government. Because of an apparent lack of inter-departmental coordination, inter-agency squabbling and a reluctance by government officials to open themselves to possible charges of racial and religious discrimination, many members of the Black Hebrews are figuratively and literally writing their own tickets. They have only to contend with local authorities who discover the crimes long after the criminals have fled, or corporate security agents and federal agents who complain of being reined in by higher-ups who are unable or unwilling to see the serious organized crime problem and its ramifications. Now the criminal element of the Black Hebrews is operating practically unchecked and is reportedly expanding its operations to get a share of the lucrative computer crimes market among white collar criminals.

It was not allegations of criminal activities that first brought the Black Hebrews to the attention of the public. The sect caught the eye of the Chicago community back in the mid-sixties when a onetime truck driver and foundry worker began actively spreading the word that he and his Black followers were the lost tribe of the original 12 tribes of Israel (direct descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob). In 1967, Ben-Ami Carter led 160 of his followers to the African nation of Liberia in preparation for the emmigration to Israel. The next year five Black Hebrew families settled in Israel under that country's Law of Return, which encourages Jews from other nations to return to their homeland. When a second and then a third group arrived, the Israeli authorities challenged their claim to being Jews. Despite rulings that the Black Hebrews did not qualify for legal status in Israel, more than 2,000 members of the group managed to slip into the country and disappear into three desert communities. For more than a decade now, the Israelis have tolerated the Black Hebrews despite claims the communities have turned into slums, as many as 30 people are living in one apartment, polygamy is being practiced and many people are not getting adequate food. Government officials have openly admitted they do not want anyone accusing them of racial or religious discrimination.

Ben-Ami Carter, left, led his followers back to the promised land

As early as the late 1970s, however, there were indications that many of the members in the United States were engated in an organized effort to break the law. Dolores C. Boni is a security investigator with Virginia National Bank who, in 1978, suspected a link between losses they were having and the Black Hebrews. She says she discovered the members were operating out of residences they called "safe houses." She started charting the names of the owners and the visitors of the safe houses, but it wasn't easy convincing authorities that she was on to something. "When I first started working them, people thought I was nuts." It was only when she linked the members to a rash of mail thefts that federal authorities started taking her seriously.

Soon a special agent for the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, Steve Simmons, discovered similarities in a number of airline ticket thefts or forgeries reported by airlines headquartered in the Atlanta area. He also started keeping track of Black Hebrews he believed he had linked to crimes. Then in May of 1980, FBI agents in Chicago circulated a memo to various law enforcement agencies that described the Black Hebrews and the types of crimes some of them appeared to be committing.

But federal agents had no idea how widespread the activity was until June 2, 1981 when U.S. Postal Inspectors raided the apartment of a Black Hebrew member who was being sought on a charge of possession of stolen mail. Aside from finding a large quantity of stolen mail, the agents seized enough forged and stolen documents, correspondence and stolen checks to keep an army of investigators busy for a year. The inventory of what was seized at the Hyattsville, Md. apartment is a 126-page document. It lists more than 7,000 blank personal checks, 340 allegedly forged birth certificates, 244 IDs believed to be stolen or phony. 57 passports and stolen U.S. Treasury checks worth more than $50,000. Agents also found written instructions that explain how to commit various crimes; whose names and addresses to use and which banks or credit card companies *not* to steal from. Documents were also found that convinced federal agents that an aide to Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich) was also involved with the Black Hebrews and the crimes associated with them.

This and other raids on safe houses convinced federal authorities that there should be a special task force formed to combat the criminal element of the Black Hebrews. The Postal Inspection Service was named as the coordinating agency overseeing FBI agents, Secret Service Agents, State Department investigators and local authorities. Sources in the Postal Service say that the short-lived task force was the only hope of putting a stop to the spreading crimes. "During that time," says one agent, "we really put a dent in them. We had convicted about 40 of them, raided their churches and meeting places and safe houses and tailed them to Chicago and Miami. That's all we were doing."

The raid on the All Souls Unitarian Church in Washington, D.C. is believed by some agents to have been the beginning of the end of the effective task force. Postal Inspectors, Secret Service agents and local police converged on the church during a service and arrested Asiel Ben Israel, formerly Bruce Green, who was the leader of the Washington Black Hebrew group. He was charged with interstate transportation of stolen securities. Two other members were arrested and charged with passport violations. It took a matter of only a few hours for complaints to start pouring in from The Council of Churches of Greater Washington, the Washington Urban League and other organizations protesting a raid on a church—especially a church in session. The Black Hebrews' international ambassador, Prince Asiel Ben Israel (formerly Warren Brown) joined religious and Black leaders in condemning the federal agents.

Inside sources say it was that criticism that made the FBI and other agencies pull out of the task force. "After a while," says one of the agents, "it was just the Postal Inspectors and the State Department." When the Postal Inspectors pretty much chased the criminal element out of the Washington D.C. area, some of the agents were upset when their superiors pulled them off the chase. "Our bosses told us we can't be carrying the ball for the other agencies."

Postal Inspectors say they did a good job in Washington D.C. but should have been able to follow through. As one puts it, "Without being able to keep chasing them, we were just pissing in the wind."

Investigators say the Black Hebrews have learned how to capitalize on any situation. They know how much they can steal in one transaction and still be under the amount prosecutors require to press criminal charges. Many of them allegedly possess several sets of IDs and use each others' names. They recruit middle class blacks from college campuses and help them get jobs in banks, government agencies or credit card companies. The recruits are said to be such obedient followers that they'll steal documents, money or information from their employers with no remorse. If caught, the recruits are almost always released on bail because of their clean records. And they almost never show up for the preliminary hearing or the trial. Agents say they resurface with a new identity or they use a forged passport and make passage to Israel.

Prosecutors say thay have a difficult time convincing judges to hold suspects without bail. Agents say a Black Hebrew member puts on a good show in court and never admits to being a part of the Black Hebrew organization.

In one case, however, the defendant is using her association with the Black Hebrews as her defense. Hyacinthe T. Napper, administrative aide to Representative John Conyers, has been charged in New York and Washington, D.C. with making false statements on a passport. She's seeking a dismissal on the grounds that the federal government is guilty of selective prosecution. Documents filed in court allege that the U.S. Department of State only sought prosecution of 2.8 percent of the people it suspected of passport fraud. Her attorney is claiming she's being prosecuted *because* she's a member of a religious group. Her trial is slated for December 12, 1983.

Representative Conyers would not comment on Napper's case except to say her alleged activities had nothing to do with her job as his aide. However, one of the documents obtained in the Hyattsville raid was allegedly a letter of recommendation from the congressman's office regarding Napper's son, Guy T. Napper, Jr. The letter, signed with Conyer's signature, identifies Guy Napper as vice president of Napper and Sons Structural Engineering, Inc. The letter indicates the younger Napper displayed "exemplary" service under contract at the Capitol. A *Washington Post* reporter says Hyacinthe Napper acknowledged that there was no such firm as Napper and Sons. Hyacinthe Napper is still employed by Representative Conyers.

Napper is an exception also in that she was released on her own recognizance pending trial. Most Black Hebrews released on bail do not return for trial. A good number of them end up in Israel—the ultimate safe house. There, they often destroy their passports and identification and can feel secure knowing they cannot be extradited if they cannot be identified. According to Steve Simmons of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, there are more than 80 Black Hebrew members in Israel who have outstnading federal arrest warrants against them. And although there have been a few people extradited back to the United States, most are safe in Israel as long as that government allows them to stay.

There are those in Israel who would be

happy to see the Black Hebrews leave the country, but it's not likely any action will be taken. Officials in Israel and the Untied States have expressed open fears that any action could lead to a tragedy. The group's leader, Ben-Ami Carter, is considered in many ways to be like the late Reverend Jim Jones. Reports from defectors equate Carter's demand for unquestioned obedience to the characteristic Jonestown behavior. Carter has told the Israeli leaders that only two-thirds of his people would allow themselves to be removed from the land. He said the others would die first.

Colonel Michael Bochner has seen the problem from both sides of the ocean. The Israeli national police official spent four years in New York City as a liason between the two nations. After working with U.S. enforcement people he returned to Israel and set out to identify as many of the Black Hebrew members there he could. He couldn't identify all of them, but the information he provided was useful to authorities in the U.S. While he was in the towns inhabitated by the Black Hebrews, he says he saw the living conditions there. He says some of the people are starving—not for lack of food, but rather because of the vegetarian diet, lack of medical treatment and ritualistic punishment invoked by Carter. Bochner says some of the younger members are smart enough to know they don't want to stay there, but they're afraid to seek assistance from the Israeli government or the U.S. Embassy. He says Carter confiscates all passports belonging to the members and punishes anyone who says they want to leave.

While it may appear Israel is doing nothing to remove the Black Hebrews from its soil, the U.S. State Department is being criticized by people both in Israel and the U.S. Frustrated law enforcement officers say Israel offered to return any or all Black Hebrews if the State Department would simply send a letter asking for them. While investigators say the U.S. government is fearing a mass suicide, a spokesman for the State Department says it's a simple matter of policy. Public Information Officer John Caufield says the State Department doesn't interfere with an American citizen's decision on where he or she chooses to live. He says it's up to Israel to deport the Black Hebrews. He refused, though, to discuss the allegations that Israel offered to return the Black Hebrews.

Federal agents are not optimistic about winning extradition of those in Israel. And many of the local, state, federal and corporate investigators are unofficially saying there's not much hope getting the upper hand on those Black Hebrews involved in crime unless the federal government recognizes the problem.

When *The Rebel* contacted the Justice Department to find out why there was no longer a federal task force, the official reply was that "the Black Hebrews are not considered as much a threat as La Cosa Nostra."

Repeated calls to the headquarters of the U.S. Postal Inspection Service proved futile.

The FBI responded to allegations that they were not adequately coordinating a national effort to apprehend Black Hebrews by telling us only that "we will investigate any allegations of crimes that fall within our jurisdiction as prescribed by the Department of Justice." When we pressed for a answer to our specific questions, Public Information Officer Bill Carter refused to comment further and hung up on us.

Since there's no central clearing house for Black Hebrew criminal information, it's difficult to tally the number of active criminals, the geographical areas being hit or the monetary losses being incurred by U.S. businesses. Many estimates exceed the $10 million mark for losses. People like Steve Simmons with the Georgia Bureau of Investigation can only give local scores. In Atlanta, he says, they've made nearly 50 arrests of suspected Black Hebrew criminals. The 15 that he's brought to trial were convicted. The rest disappeared before they could be tried. He's not happy that currently none of those convicted are in jail or prison. He says some of those arrested early on in his investigation have already served their time, been released and are wanted again for more crimes. Simmons estimates the losses in his jurisdiction as well over $2 million and he says it doesn't look like the Black Hebrews are planning to leave there very soon. "They've bought a building in Atlanta and they've opened up a restaurant and a boutique."

Don Ray is a free-lance investigative journalist.

Black Hebrew congregationists

Photo by Craig Herndon The Washington Post

Amin Gemayel would not be President without the U.S. Marines.

Photo by Wide World

A Mid-East Primer

By Stanley Reed

The kamikaze bomb blast at the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut last month woke up many Americans once again to the perils of our growing involvement in the Middle East. What are the Marines doing in Lebanon? What American interests are they defending there? These were the type of questions Americans asked as the television networks transmitted grim scenes of rubble and bodies. In answer the government offered only bland platitudes.

"We must be more determined than ever that they (unspecified) cannot take over that vital and strategic area of the earth or, for that matter, any part of the earth," the President vowed. He claimed that if "forces hostile to the West" (again unspecified) were to impose a "tyranny" on Lebanon then U.S global security would be imperilled.

A look at recent history shows that what Mr. Reagan says about Lebanon just doesn't add up. For starters, chaos has reigned there since Civil War first broke out in 1975. Yet the fighting has posed little danger to the neighboring Middle Eastern states let alone the U.S.

The U.S. only became directly involved after the Israelis invaded in 1982 and were bogged down by heavier than expected resistance and world outcry. Then the Marines landed to help evacuate Palestinian guerillas to keep the Israelis from levelling West Beirut. That mission accomplished, the Marines quickly withdrew but soon returned to prevent recurrences of the Sabra and Shatila massacres of Palestinian civilians by the Israelis' Lebanese proteges, the Phalangist militia. The Marines then stayed on to support the fleggling government of President Amin Gemayel, the brother of Bashir Gemayel, who was selected as President with Israeli help but was blown up before he could take office.

The Marines have had an almost impossible job. They have been trying to foster strong central government in a country that, politically has not yet emerged from the Middle Ages. There is little in the way of either a political center or national feeling in Lebanon. There are only factions. Their mutually hostile leaders, really warlords, provoked the Civil War by retaining power at the expense of the central government, and they show every sign of continuing such behaviour. Gemayel is perceived by the other factions, who are mostly Moslem, not so much as their President but rather as the leader of the Christian Phalangist. The most powerful indigenous militia, the Phalangists have been responsible for the bulk of the massacres and other atrocities of recent years. Lebanese political thought associates the Phalangist with orgies of killing, fueled by cocaine or hashish and embellished with such flourishes as playing a mandolin over a corpse. Ironically, Amin Gemayel does not admire or control these forces that are the creation of his deceased brother. This weakens him but matters little to his opponents.

By siding with Gemayel, the Marines, who were generally welcomed at first, have become the enemies of his enemies. Lightly armed and crowded together in an accessible camp, they make a tempting target for underground Lebanese groups as well as the many other elements in the Middle East who might wish to strike at the U.S. It was only a matter of time before an incident like the bombing had to occur.

What conclusions can we draw from the Beirut bombing? Should we withdraw the Marines from Lebanon? Perhaps. (I will return to this option later). Should we pull up our stakes throughout the Middle East? That would be wishful thinking. Our military, economic and political links with the region have grown so extensive that it is

doubtful that they could ever be completely unraveled. But there is no reason that we cannot try to properly define our interests in the Middle East and understand the forces at work there. Perhaps we will then be able to avoid situations such as the peace-keeping mission in Lebanon, where losses are much more likely than wins.

Over the years two main American concerns in the Middle East have evolved: the security of the state of Israel and access to the vast oil supplies of the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf. In regard to the first issue, President Jimmy Carter once summed up the American-Israeli connection like this, "We have a special relationship with Israel. It's absolutely crucial that no one in our country or around the world ever doubt that our Number One commitment in the Middle East is to protect the right of Israel to exist, to exist permanently and to exist in peace. It's a special relationship."

Just how "special" this relationship is can be seen in the magnitude of U.S. aid to Israel. According to a recent study by Thomas R. Stauffer, an authority on the subject, "Israel currently receives $2.5 billion in direct, official U.S. aid amounting to about one fourth of the total global disbursements of U.S. aid . . ." In addition to the official aid, Stauffer reports that Israel receives an additional $200 million-plus in assistance through an unusual arrangement whereby "Israeli arms manufacturers sell to the United States under privileged terms. They are broadly exempted from the 'Buy American' restrictions normally applicable to most Department of Defense purchases and also from import duties, even when competing against domestic (U.S.) vendors." Private charitable contributions from the U.S. account for another $700 million or so in support for Israel. The flow of these funds is encouraged by U.S. legislation which confers tax-deductible status on any Israel charity, "a privilege not generally accorded other foreign states." Stauffer concludes "currently foreign aid, 75-80% from the United States, generates about half of Israel's GNP, and there is no immediate prospect the aid can be reduced."

Israel has virtually bankrupted itself to build an extraordinary military machine. Fifty-seven percent of its 1982 budget went for defense and for debt servicing which mainly financed military purchases. Israel likes to add up all the tanks, planes etc., in the Arab arsenals and portray itself as threatened, but it is not. According to Anthony H. Cordesman a former Defense Department official and top U.S. expert on Middle East security issues, "In an area where time and distances are so short that they tyrannize the battlefield, Israel is able to design and tailor technology to give it vastly superior data collection, reaction times, and maneuver and firepower effectiveness . . ." He adds that Israel "has one of the most advanced military electronics industries in the world. It is technically more advanced in its areas of interest than the USSR and probably more advanced than Britain or France." All this adds up to what Cordesman calls "a massive advantage over the Arab States."

The difference between the Israeli and Arab militaries was made plain once again in the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. The Syrians who reputedly have the most effective armed forces among the Arab states lost about 100 aircraft and 19 SAM missile emplacements while inflicting next to no losses on the Israelis. As a further indication of their strength, the Israelis repeatedly send military aircraft over Saudi Arabia's main western military base at Tabuk. Not long ago the driver of an Israeli patrol boat, either disoriented or asleep near a military outpost ran his craft well up on the beach of the Saudi coast. The Saudi soldiers retreated inland and watched helplessly while Israelis landed a rescue party and took their time in towing the vessel off. The Israelis have also incorporated 10-30 kilometers of Jordanian air space into their air defense zone. They routinely conduct helicopter unit landings in south Jordan as if to dare the Jordanians to challenge them.

Israeli's security has been especially enhanced by the successful U.S. efforts to buy off Egypt and to take it out of the Arab fold. Under Gamal Abdel Nasser, whose regime lasted from 1952-1970, Egypt was the Middle East's most disruptive or stimulating country depending on one's point of view. Egypt was by far the Arab world's most populous and militarily powerful country, and it possessed many of the region's best known thinkers and cultural institutions. Nasser was widely imitated by other young military officers who took power and attempted to apply progressive reforms in what was a very backward part of the world. The former Egyptian leader thrived on taunting the West through such bold steps as turning to the Eastern bloc for arms and nationalizing foreign assets in Egypt including the Suez Canal.

Yasir Arafat is losing his grip on the PLO.

Photo by Wide World

Nasser's successor, Anwar Sadat, proved much more receptive to western blandishments. His trip to Jerusalem and other conciliatory gestures brought him a U.S. aid program that continues to run at about $1.5 billion a year. Unfortunately, Sadat's turn toward the West and Israel contributed to his death at the hands of young Moslem zealots, who thought that he had betrayed Islamic principles. The new Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak is sticking to Sadat's commitments to the U.S. and Israel, albeit cautiously. He knows that there is no retirement plan for Arab leaders. He would like to hedge his bets by rebuilding the bridges that Sadat burned to the other Arab states.

One of Mubarak's problems is finding a convincing mission for his sizeable if rundown armed forces now that they are at peace with Israel. At present much of Egyptian military might is positioned to check their western neighbor Libya's Col. Muammar el Kaddafi, who gets far more attention than he deserves from the U.S. press and government. While capable of minor if occasionally spectacular troublemaking through the use of his oil money, his regional standing is next to nothing. Sadat habitually referred to him as "the mad Libyan boy" and many Arabs would concur.

Arab unity is of course a myth. Israelis who are well-informed about their region know this truth well but are loathe to admit to their American friends. "Only when Israel raises money from American Jews do we Israelis claim that the entire Arab world is a united juggernaut determined to drive poor little Israel into the sea," an Israeli Arab affairs expert told Jonathan G. Randal, a correspondent for *The Washington Post*. The real governing principle of the Middle East is the old Arab proverb "The Enemy of my Enemy is my friend". This rule has never applied so obviously as today. For four years the Iraqis, financed to the tune of $35 billion by the Saudis and other Gulf Arabs, have been fighting the Iranians, who have been greatly aided by the Israelis' willingness to sell them spare parts for their American made weapons. One would suppose that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and Syrian President Hafez al Assad, being Arabs,neighbors and ruling in the name of the same Ba'ath party, would be allies. Instead the two are mortal enemies. Syria has helped Iran bring the Iraqi economy to its knees by refusing to allow Baghdad's oil exports to transit a pipeline through Syria. Likewise it has rendered Yasir Arafat almost powerless by encouraging rebellion among his discontented fighting men.

Factionalized Lebanon, where everything including newspaper publishers, politicians, and assassins are for sale has become a microcosm where the conflicts of the Middle East are played out in the nastiest ways. The Syrians, Iraqis, Iranians, and Libyans have all funneled money and weapons to one or more armed groups. It is estimated that this "political money" amounts to $20-25 million a month. The Israelis of course have trained and equipped the most powerful militia, the Christian Phalangists. The U.S. too did its part before the invasion sending $100 million in military equipment to the then Christian-dominated Lebanese National Army. Much of this materiel probably wound up in the hands of the Christian militias.

Aside from Israel, the most identifiable U.S. interest in the Middle East lies with the oil states of the Persian Gulf, particularly Saudi Arabia. The area holds an estimated 41% of the world's known oil reserves. Saudi Arabia's reserves of 165 billion barrels would permit it to supply the world with eight and a half million barrels a day—roughly double this year's average output—for over half a century. New finds continue to well exceed output. Saudi Arabia has long had its own special ralationship with the U.S. It has been dominated by Aramco, the consortium of American oil companies (SoCal, Texaco, Exxon, and Mobil) that held the oil concession. The Saudis are big boys now and own and operate Aramco, but they make no bones about looking to the U.S. to guarantee their security.

A great deal is often made of the potential internal instability of Saudi Arabia, but in reality the 2,000 princes of the House of Saud are cobwebbed throughout Saudi society and maintain effective control. The Saudis are well aware that with huge, indefensible borders, a small 4 million population and a fledgling military establishment they are much more vulnerable to external threats. They respond by doling out enormous amounts of aid—some might call it protection money—to their neighbors and this produces mixed results. The Saudis have also done what they could to promote financial stability in the west by using their $150 billion or so in foreign assets to fund the deficits of the U.S., France, West Germany, Japan, and the United Kingdom.

The Saudis greatly fear their two giant northern neighbors, Iran and Iraq. Along with the other Gulf Arab states, they have financed Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's war with Ayatollah Khomeini with a reported $1 billion a month, probably hoping that the two states would exhaust each other. It is not clear whether the strategy is working or about to back-fire. With a combined estimated 75,000 casualties both armies appear drained and ineffective. But the Iranians have managed to put their oil industry back on its feet while almost completely closing off Iraqi exports. If either Iran or Iraq translates its desires into reality, the Marines—but this time a much larger force—will have another place to go.

For the moment, however, the Marines are in Lebanon, a place where they cannot be effective. It is the land where the nightmares of the Middle East become reality. Lebanese politics have come to be dominated by the violent acts of underground groups who do the bidding of the likes of Syrian President Assad and his brother and security chief, Rifaat. The Assads will do anything to further their cause, whatever it may be. In 1981 they crushed a rebellion in the Syrian city of Hama by levelling much of the town with tanks. Between 5,000 and 20,000 people are believed to have died in that incident. Syrian leaders want to retain their dominance of Lebanon, whose sovereignty they have never recognized because they consider it a part of historical Syria. They are also believed to have a hefty interest in black-marketeering in Lebanon, including a share of the $1 billion per year hashish trade.

As long as the Assads, the Israelis and others want turmoil in Lebanon, turmoil there will be.

Stanley Reed is a free-lance journalist based in New York.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak knows "there is no retirement plan for Arab leaders."

Photo by Wide World

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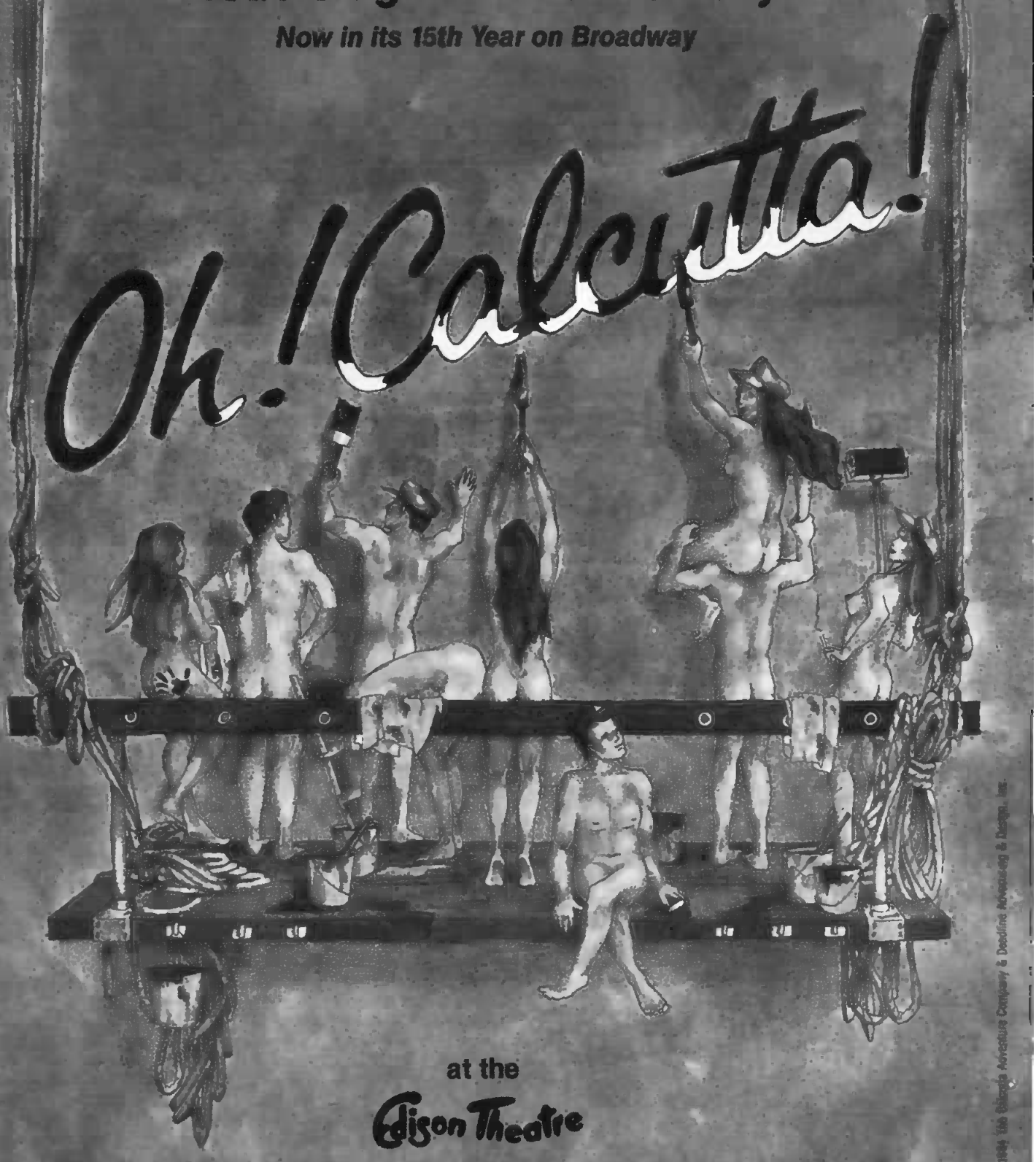

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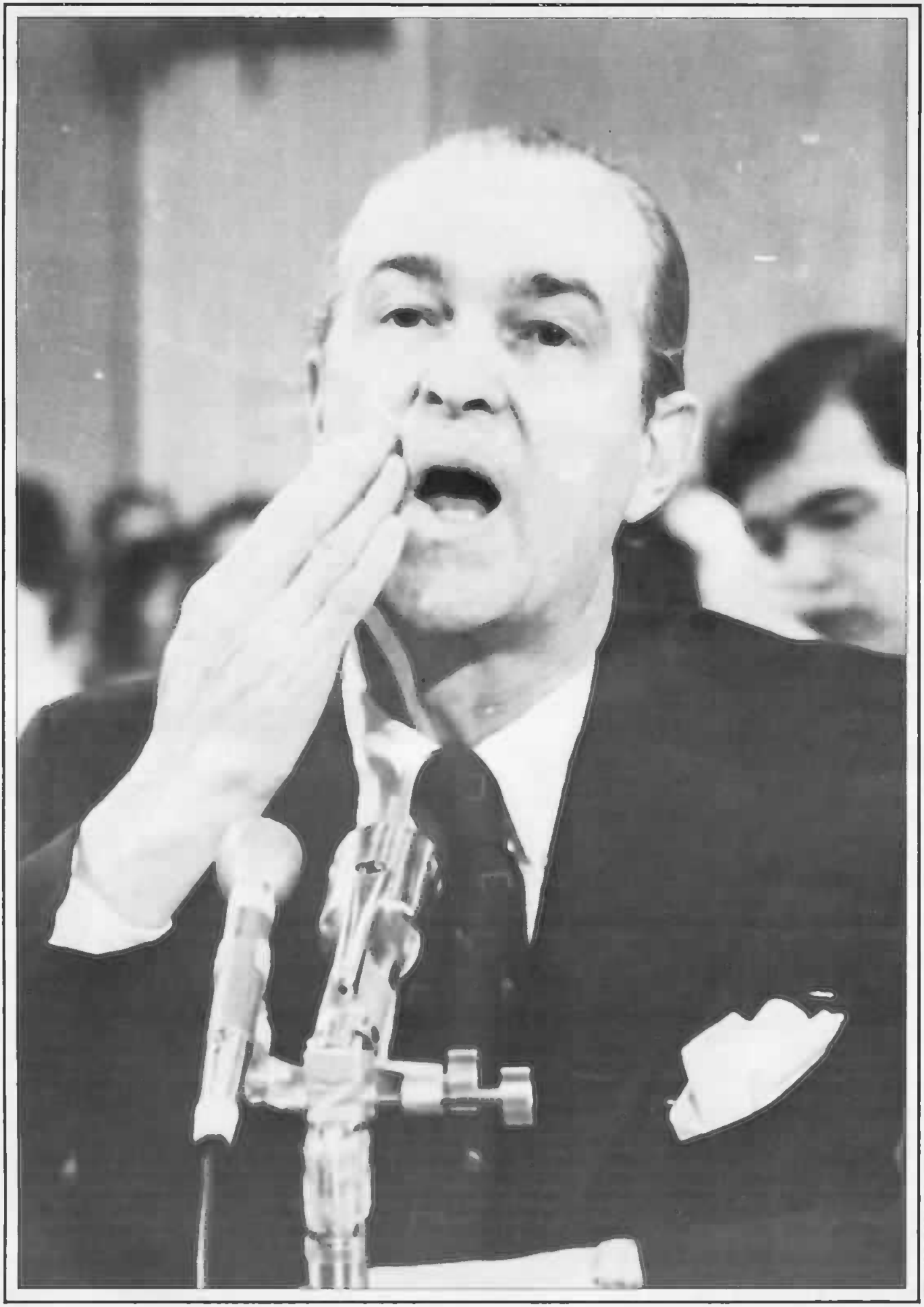

Photo by Wide World

CIA AND DEA BETRAY IRANIAN COLLABORATOR

By Joe Trento

They're used to national security cases at the old Federal courthouse in Alexandria, Virgina. Federal prosecutors make certain that cases at all offensive to the CIA end up here, conveniently close to Company HQ in nearby McLean. But in April 1980, there was a drug case tried here that was considered bizarre even in Alexandria. Not much of a defense was put up for the three Iranians on trial, and it ended in a much celebrated conviction by the Drug Enforcement Agency. But it was a hollow victory for the DEA. The trial of Shahrohk Bakhtiar and two co-defendants wasn't really a heroin trial. It was the end of a botched intelligence operation.

Bakhtiar, a well-connected Iranian immigrant, was accused of smuggling more than $50 million dollars worth of heroin into the United States. He did just that,and he went to prison for it. But that isn't the real story. His purpose, he told friends, was to use these funds to overthrow the Khomeini regime in Iran. Instead of pulling off the coup in his homeland, Bakhtiar, 41, found himself behind bars, a victim of a DEA entrapment operation, abandoned by the intelligence agency that recruited him.

His story was pieced together from details obtained from Federal wiretap logs and interviews with intelligence officials and participants in the case. In early 1979, we found, present and former CIA men approached Bakhtiar and asked him to refrain from filing a lawsuit against top CIA officials and the fallen Shah for the assassination of Bakhtiar's father, the powerful director of SAVAK, the royal government's secret police organization, until his death was ordered by the Shah in 1973. In exchange, Bakhtiar was told that if he assisted the CIA in helping his cousin, former Prime Minister Shahpour Bakhtiar, to overthrow Khomeini, the CIA would see that he got his share of his late father's half billion-dollar estate, which had been tied up in Swiss bank accounts.

CIA Director Richard Helms: was there a plan to overthrow Khomeini?

CIA officials told Bakhtiar that a timid Jimmy Carter would never allow the spy agency to finance such a coup, but if Bakhtiar was willing to travel to Iran to tap into the heroin resources of his family, the agency could provide him with a "safe" buyer to raise the money. Bakhtiar's friends warned him that the scheme might be a trap to silence him, but he ignored their admonitions.

Donald E. Deneselya, a former CIA officer, told me that his friend Bakhtiar was "set up." He said Bakhtiar became convinced, in his dealings with SAVAK agents in the United States, that the Shah had betrayed his father on the advice of top CIA officials—including former CIA director Richard Helms—whom he believed were loyal family friends. When he decided to sue the CIA for its role in his father's death, he threatened to reveal "all kinds of things about CIA activities in Iran during the Shah's regime."

Deneselya claims that Bakhtiar inadvertently tipped off Helms and his former CIA colleagues that he was thinking about legal action when he approached Helms' lawyer, Edward Bennett Williams, about taking on the case. Soon afterward, according to Deneselya, family "friends" began telling him that they'd help him get his share of his father's estate if he'd agree to drop the lawsuit. By the late summer of 1979, Bakhtiar was meeting directly with CIA contacts on the deal to import heroin to help overthrow the revolutionary regime and install his cousin Shahpour in power.

But Deneselya said he could offer no proof of his charges because telephone records that showed which CIA officials had contacted Bakhtiar during the last months in 1979 had been kept secret by the DEA.

This reporter has obtained those telephone logs. They list the names of congressmen and intelligence officials who called Bakhtiar during the period when the heroin traffickers were under DEA investigation.

The registers show that calls were made to Bakhtiar from the private lines of California Representative Don Edwards (D-Ca.) Representative Timothy Wirth (D-Colo.) and Congressional Delegate Walter Fauntroy, (D-Washington, D.C.). All three say they could remember making no such calls.

The register also reveals that at 11:11 p.m. on December 23, 1979, former CIA Director and Ambassador to Iran Richard M. Helms called Bakhtiar from his home number during the narcotics probe and surveillance that led to his arrest. Helms, of course, denies that either he or his wife ever called Bakhtiar.

Other intelligence officials listed on the pen register agreed to talk on the condition they not be identified. They confirm they had discussed a possible coup in Iran with Bakhtiar.

It was soon afterward, according to court records, that Bakhtiar was introduced to a Kenny Feldman as a Mafia buyer for the heroin. The records show that Feldman, who was and is an undercover agent for the DEA, promised Bakhtiar that he could handle all Bakhtiar could bring in, and supplied him with $36,000 in Agency funds for heroin samples and travel funds. Bakhtiar says he picked up and brought back more than 22 kilos, about 45 pounds, from his contacts in Iran. Court records show that Feldman insisted he be supplied with higher and higher grades of pure heroin. When the purity reached 78 percent, a level that brings additional criminal penalities, Feldman made the arrests.

Since his conviction and imprisonment in the Petersburg, Virginia Federal Correctional Center, Bakhtiar has remained steadfastly silent about the entire case. He faces three more years incarceration before he can be considered for parole. "He still believes his CIA friends will get him off the hook," says a friend. "He is a fool."

By Ed Rasen

Stolen Iranian Billions in U.S. Banks

When the Ayatollah took over it wasn't only the Shah that flew out of Iran, it was most of the gold in the national treasury.

The government of Iran has presented to the United States a list of persons who allegedly transferred hundreds of millions of dollars illegally from Iran to the U.S. during the last days of the Shah's regime. A special team of investigators working under the direction of Ali Nobari, now the director of the Central Bank of Iran, claims to have traced more than $2.4 billion that was transferred into Swiss, French, British and U.S. banks; including Chase Manhattan, Citicorp and Bank of America.

This confidential list—made public for the first time in this issue of *The Rebel*—adds new weight to charges that the Shah's generals, ministers and relatives secretly siphoned billions of dollars from Iran's national oil revenues and military contracts.

The names on the list can be divided into four distinct categories: military officials who made their fortunes from bribes and commissions on military contracts, usually with the tacit approval of the Shah and the U.S. Department of Defense; high-ranking civil servants and politicians who took kickbacks for government contracts; influential court officers and officials of the Shah's security service (SAVAK); and members, relatives and business associates of the Shah's family who routinely used the Pahlevi Foundation for personal benefit.

Heading the list are: **General Gholam Ali Oveisi**, commander of the Imperial Iranian Ground Forces from 1972 to 1978 and later administrator of martial law in Tehran until the fall of the Shah, is accused of removing $17 million from Iran. Currently living in Paris, Oveisi is working with the Shah's sister, Princess Ashraf, to overthrow the government of the Ayatollah Khomeini. Oveisi and Princess Ashraf have both stated publicly that they have access to a "war chest" of $2 billion in order to accomplish their goal. Gen. Oveisi and Princess Ashraf are secretly funding Forghan, a mysterious organization whose members are anti-clerical Islamic terrorists. Forghan claims responsibility for the assasination of the Ayatollah Morteza Motahari, former chief of the Revolutionary Council, which is the highest authority in Iran beneath Khomeini. Forghan has released a "hit list" which includes all the members of the Revolutionary Council, and other Iranian officials such as the Deputy Prime Minister and Ali Nobari, director of the Central Bank.

General Hassan Toufanian, the Shah's chief of military procurements and the head of Iran's military industries, allegedly transferred $40 million. Toufanian's name has appeared repeatedly in the United States during investigations by the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) regarding illegal payments and bribes paid by Grumman Aircraft, Bell Helicopter, and Lockheed in connection with military sales to Iran. In 1975, Gen. Toufanian successfully "blacklisted" and replaced Mahvi and his associates, who were the major military contractors in Iran. This was after Mahvi was named by U.S. Senate investigators as a middleman to Gen. Mohammed Khatami, a brother-in-law of the Shah.

Ardeshir Zahedi, the former ambassador to the United States is accused of removing $13 million to the United States. Zahedi was also the Iranian ambassador to Great Britain from 1962 to 1967. He has been under investigation by a U.S. Justice Department secret grand jury for illegally financing pro-Shah demonstrations in the U.S. as well as secret operations by the SAVAK.

Jamshid Amouzegar, the former Minister of Finance, who was educated at Cornell University in the U.S. and presided over the shooting of Iranian dissidents in Qom and Tabriz during 1978, is accused of removing $26 million; of which some $6 million has been traced to the U.S.

General Ayadi, the Shah's personal physician is accused of removing $38 million.

Hojabr Yazdani, General Ayadi's business partner, is accused of removing $77 million.

Ali Rezai, a close business associate of the Shah, who was the head of the Shahriar Bank and the major stockholder in Iran's largest private steel company, is accused of removing $53.4 million.

Ahmad Khayami, another close associate of the Shah and a major investor in Iran National, formerly Iran's largest auto and bus production company, is alleged to have removed more than $50 million from Iran.

Habib-Allah Ladjevardi, a graduate of the Harvard Business School, and one of three sons of H.S. Mamoud Ladjevardi, founder of the Behshar Industrial Group, a collection of 49 companies and joint ventures with foreign corporations (including

Dupont), and members of the Shah's family allegedly removed $37.4 million from Iran.

Mehradad Pahlbod, former minister of Cultural Affairs and husband of the Shah's sister Princess Shamas, allegedly transferred $32 million to the U.S. The Princess also owns a $2 million parcel of land in Beverly Hills, California.

A former U.S. State Department official, writing under the pen name of Abul Kasim Mansur in the *Armed Forces Journal*, confirms the Iranian accusations. Claiming "intimate experience in Iranian national affairs," Mansur states that the total sum cited by Central Bank workers ($2.4 billion) appears to be exaggerated, "but not that exaggerated."

Among the other names on the list are:

Gen. Ali Hojat—$6.7 million

Gen. Parviz Khosravani—$8.1 million

Gen. A.A. Valian—$9 million

Admiral (no first name available) Zelli—$5.3 million

Parviz Sabeti (former deputy commander of SAVAK)—$19.3 million

Gen. Ali Mohammad Khademi (Khatami, possible western spelling) (executed) chief Iran Air—$9 million

Gen. Hossein Fardoust (head of Imperial Inspectorate)—$6.4 million

Amir Mottaghi (Shah's news advisor)—$17 million

Hormoz Gharib (Shah's chief of protocol)—$8 million

Jaafar Mansourian (legal advisor to Pahlevi Foundation)—$38 million

Dr. Reza Fallah (deputy chairman National Iranian Oil Co.)—$16.4 million

Dr. Houshang Nahavandi (chancellor Tehran & Pahlevi Universities)—$7.3 million

Golam Reza Nik-Pay (Minister of Housing and Development)—$7.4 million

Dr. Jahanshah Saleh (Empress Farah's gynecologist)—$11.3 million

Ali Nikpur (former head Central Bank of Iran)—$31.6 million

Mansour Rohani (former minister of agriculture)—$9.7 million

Mansour Yassini (Chamber of Guilds)—$11 million

Rassoul Rahimi (president Chamber of Guilds)—$11.7 million

Mohammad Ali Mofarrah (president Bank Sadera)—$24.6 million

Shahriar Pahlavi-Nia (son of Princess Ashraf)—$53 million

Shahrom Pahlavi-Nia (son of Princess Ashraf)—$60 million

Sharzad Pahlavi-Nia (daughter of Princess Ashraf)—$41 million

Reza Ghotbi (cousin of Queen Farah Diba)—$12 million

Abol-Hassan Diba (related to Queen Farah)—$31 million

Amir Nasser Diba (related to Queen Farah)—$7.3 million

Dr. Mohammad Hassan Diba (related to Queen Farah)—$6.3 million □

Ed Rasen is a journalist specializing in intelligence affairs.

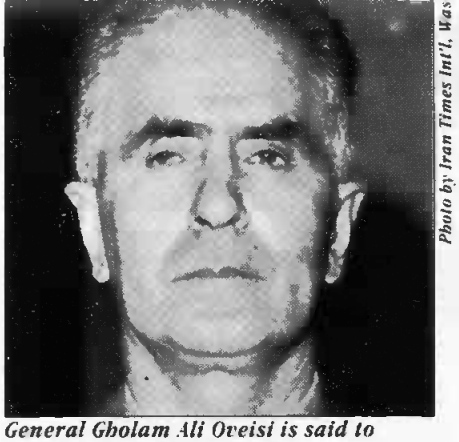

Photo by Iran Times Int'l, Was

General Gholam Ali Oveisi is said to have left Iran with $17 million

Photo by Iran Time

Ahmad Khayami transferred 50 million

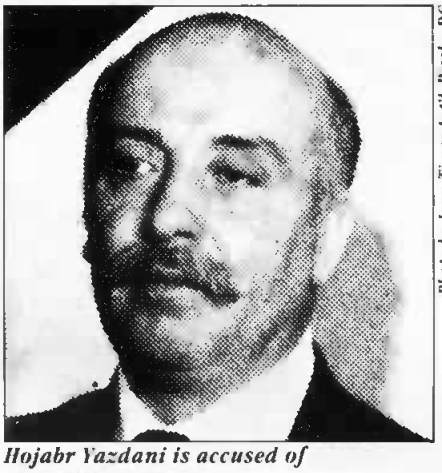

Photo by Iran Times Int'l, Wash., DC

Hojabr Yazdani is accused of taking $77 million

Photo by Wide World

Jamshid Amouzegar, once Minister of Finance, supposedly took $26 million

Photo by Wide World

Ardeshir Zahedi, former Ambassador to U.S. took $13 million

Photo by Iran Times Int'l.

Habib-Alah Ladjevardi transferred $37.4 million

Photo by Iran Times Int'l.

Mehradad Pahlbod allegedly transferred $32 million.

Photo by Iran Times Int'l.

Mansour Yassini transferred $11 million

Georgia-Pacific vs. The Redwoods

Corporate giant Georgia-Pacific and California's environmentalists square off

A forbidding coastline once protected virgin stands of California redwoods from the axe's bite

By David J. Cross

It isn't called the Lost Coast for nothing. Few Californians have been there or would even know where to look on the map. But lately reports have surfaced suggesting that in far northern Mendocino County something is amiss: local backwoods people standing between ancient redwoods and modern chainsaws, sheriffs working overtime, arrests, and stately denials by the timber company that protesters could be anything other than "confused." There was a time when the remarkable geography that has made this the most spectacular piece of coastline between Canada and Mexico, and has kept it secret, might also have protected it. But that time has gone.

For the last decade the Georgia-Pacific Corporation has been steadily clear-cutting the last unprotected stands of virgin redwoods on the California coast, and thus, in the world. This continues despite the state's clear intention, backed up with money, to create The Sinkyone Wilderness Park; one that would be unrivalled on any coastline in the lower 48 states. A local resident suggested to Georgia-Pacific's regional forester that, even now, some good will could be salvaged if the company would leave the few old-growth stands, more or less as monuments to what had been. The reply was, "We don't leave memorials around for anybody." Away from public view, Georgia-Pacific continues to cut. Wildlife that depends on the big trees flee to dwindling islands of old-growth; landslides choke the ravines and foul the streams.

What has kept this place secret is a conspiracy of weather and geology. California is generally earthquake country, but the country around Cape Mendocino is the most seismically disruptive of all. Three plates of the earth's crust grind together along not-so-imaginary lines like the San Andreas Fault, Mendocino shear zone and dozens of offshoots. The place is made of layers of twisted and pulverized rock that were pushed up from the sea floor. Each winter one hundred inches of rain soak this surface, carving out places with names like Whale Gulch, Anderson Cliff, Dark Gulch, and frequently and accurately, Point No Pass. The road-builders who designed modern California looked at these thousand-foot knife ridges, the slides waiting to happen, the winter floods, and turned the Shoreline Highway 90 degrees due east, toward U.S. 101, twenty miles away. The only public road near this coast is a narrow dirt track called the Usal Road, unmarked on many maps and named for a town abandoned after another boom-and-bust long ago.

But the most important boom to hit this country in living memory was the baby boom. Every boom since the Gold Rush had ebbed away, leaving a few families who had decided that, as tough and as isolated as this place was, they liked it here. Many of the people who moved back-to-the-land in the late '60s have remained and raised families of their own. It is still rough for people living out of town—"town" is always Garberville. Kerosene lamps and outside plumbing are the norm, and telephones are scarce. The initial feelings of 'differentness," misunderstandings, and hostility have largely resolved themselves into a shared local experience that remembers 1973 for the Finley Creek fire as much as for Watergate or the gas shortage.

In several ways 1973 was a savior for the future of the story-book wilderness. The California Coastal Commission began functioning to monitor development along California's thousand mile shore, partly in response to public outrage over exploitation. Robert Sutherland, known as "The Man Who Walks in the Woods," moved to

the country and built a cabin set on madrone wood piers. Richard Gienger and his family moved to Four-Corners, at the end of Usal Road. They would soon have new neighbors. Bear Harbor Ranch became the Sinkyone Wilderness State Park and Georgia-Pacific purchased the rest of the Sinkyone from Boise-Cascade.

Georgia-Pacific's purchase included the southern two-thirds of the state's Sinkyone Wilderness Project, which is intended to create a park stretching south to Usal. Usal is a logical end-point, and was the southern border of the Sinkyone tribe for whom the area is named. Joined to the federally administered King Range Conservation Area, this makes a strip of beach, mountain and cliff nearly 50 miles long and crossed by a road only at Shelter Cove, near the mid-point. In 1976 the Coastal commission legally required Georgia-Pacific to offer an easement for a trail along its section of coast. Georgia-Pacific has never done so, although admitting hikers through its own permit system.

In 1976 jurisdiction over logging in coastal areas passed to the California Department of Forestry; rumored to have the toughtest forestry standards in the world. If true, this is alarming. In the Sinkyone, California's "tough" regulations have not prevented clear-cutting (removal of every tree) on 60-degree slopes exposed to heavy rainfall and subsequent landslides. One state water quality official estimated 200 years for recovery in one stream-bed where he had just sunk to his armpits in logging debris.

Georgia-Pacific's road-cuts have accelerated erosion by 500 years in some cases. Though the elapsed time is not much, geologically speaking, many observers doubt that steep slopes with thin soil and heavy rainfall can ever fully recover. And timber companies have never been required to demonstrate the reality of a "sustained yield."

"They do what they want," is how one state employee characterized Georgia-Pacific's activity in the Sinkyone. But through the 1970s environmentalists were watching Georgia-Pacific and doing the customary, necessary jobs of filing protests and writing legislators. Especially visible in this effort were Richard Gienger of the ad hoc Sinkyone Council and Julie Verran of the Sierra Club. In 1978 Robert Sutherland helped found the Environmental Protection Information Center, Inc. (EPIC) in Garberville, which became the crossroads for many efforts connected with logging, fishing, mining, toxic chemicals and herbicide spraying.

The latest, and perhaps climatic struggle for the Sinkyone began with the 1982 election. Running for the state Assembly seat from the North Coast district were two men who could not have defined more clearly the polarity in environmental attitudes. Republican Jerry Partain is co-founder of the professional forestry school at Humboldt State, a consultant and large stockholder in several timber companies. He is often compared to former Interior Secretary James Watt in both his policy tilt and verbal abrasiveness. Like Watt, Partain has had to make some public apologies in his time; once for referring to a Latino faculty member as "chico." Governor George Deukmejian has chosen Partain to head the state's Department of Forestry. Partain was opposed and defeated by Democrat Dan Hauser, mayor of Arcata, the town where Partain's own Humboldt State is located. In a district where timber companies are a major economic force, Hauser chose to endorse an increase in wilderness and parks land. This was unprecedented and won him respect and support of environmentalists, and just possibly the election.

In January 1983, now Assemblyman Hauser met with a large group of his district's leading environmentalists. Hauser reiterated his support for the Sinkyone Wilderness and said he intended a parks bill that would include Sinkyone Wilderness protection; the major environmental accomplishment of his first term. Until details of the trade or purchase could be worked out, he would work for a moratorium on all logging in the proposed addition.

Though communications remained outwardly good through the winter and into spring, Sutherland and others began to notice ominous gaps in what they were being told. It signaled that Georgia-Pacific was putting pressure on Hauser. The company had plenty of clout and was accustomed to using it. Possibly pressure was also being applied to the senior legislator in the region, Senator Barry Keene. Keene was a sometime ally of environmentalists and had co-authored the 1980 bill providing bond money specifically for the Sinkyone. And by the unwritten rules of the legislature, Hauser needed Keene's support if the bill was to have any chance of passage.

The bill that finally emerged was indeed something to be silent about. First, it was not protective of wilderness. Assembly Bill 125 called for establishing a trail corridor under the Recreational Trails Act, which provides only for access. (Georgia-Pacific had never closed access, nor had they offered the easement required by the Coastal Commission.) The corridor would comprise 1340 acres along the cliffs over the Pacific. In places it would be extremely narrow; in places Georgia-Pacific's haul road would *be* the trail. The corridor would be secured by a dollar-a-year lease, which would, however be revocable by Georgia-Pacific if the State failed for two years to maintain the trail to Georgia-Pacific's satisfaction. Georgia-Pacific's concern for trail maintenance had previously gone unnoticed. The bill provided one addition to Sinkyone Wilderness State Park: A parcel of land in Duffy's Gulch, something over 100 acres, was to be exchanged for a bit over 300 acres of old-growth on the Eel River at Reynolds Wayside, and Georgia-Pacific would get in addition $420,000. In addition, the remainder of the $3.2 million originally earmarked for the Sinkyone was not mentioned. Georgia-Pacific had several times professed an openness to negotiating land trades, but without both money and clearly specified direction, there was little chance of it.

Mixtures of disappointment and outrage swept over those working on the issue. It was not a good bill, no question, but there was bitter debate over what course to take. Many felt that with Assemblyman Hauser they had had their best shot, and if AB 125 was the best they could get, not supporting it would waste years of effort. Besides, people on the trail would see Georgia-Pacific's "forest management" first-hand and might be moved to write their legislators. But to Geinger and the others at EPIC, this was the end of hope for real protection; supporting AB 125 would close the issue, seal the boundaries, and waste years of effort. Thus, in the summer of 1983 the Sierra Club found itself standing uncomfortably alongside Georgia-Pacific in endorsing AB 125, which passed the Assembly 58 to 6.

Whatever AB 125 did or did not do to protect the trail corridor, it did nothing to save the old-growth forests. Upstream there remain 75 acres of virgin forest with clear-cuts on three sides. But the clear-cuts are not seen from the beach and one can avoid thinking about them. This grove was named after Sally Bell, the last known Sinkyone Indian. In August it became Timber Harvest Plan 1-83-464M. If direct action was necessary to save wilderness in Sinkyone, it had to be taken there.

The Sinkyone activists sought allies for the kind of confrontation that might come, and soon found them. "Earth First!" calls itself a movement, not an organization, and publishes a newspaper of the same name, that declares itself "the radical environmental journal." The group has garnered media attention with humorous stunts lampooning James Watt and simulating a crack in Glen Canyon Dam. But "Earth First!" people had just accomplished something quite serious; using non-violent action to stop a logging road in an Oregon wilderness. Co-founder and spokesman Dave Foreman had quit his job as a Washington lobbyist when he could not support "moderate" positions he felt offered only destruction now or destruction later. The Sinkyone situation sounded too familiar; "Earth First!"ers decided they would do all they could to stop Georgia-Pacific.

It is axiomatic in non-violent civil disobedience that all other possible avenues must first be exhausted. Richard Gienger spent many days and miles preparing for the August hearing of the Senate Committee on Natural Resources and Wildlife, where he would work to amend the bill or else to kill it. Georgia-Pacific's Jere Melo threatened that if he were successful, Duffy's Gulch would go through the mill at Fort Bragg. On August 17 the hearing room was filled with all the principals to the dispute and a

busload of people from the backwoods. Opposition to the bill was presented by Geinger and by Sharon Duggan, an attorney originally engaged by the Sisters of Redwoods Monastery, after receiving church permission. A bare quorum of five senators listened to two hours of argument and voted unanimously to restore $2.8 million of bond money to the Sinkyone project and directed the Parks Commission to seek trade lands.

Gienger and Duggan then tackled the issue of a moratorium on logging in areas that were critical to the integrity of the park. The acreage totaled about 850, and with Georgia-Pacific's holdings of 200,000 acres in Mendocino alone plus 2000 acres of logging plans approved in thee near vicinity, it just didn't wash that Georgia-Pacific needed to cut in the trail's "viewshed." Such a moratorium on privately held lands would be unprecedented; the vote was two yes, two no, and one abstention. One Sacramento staffer said later, "You'll never get a better hearing than that." Lon Mulvaney of EPIC declared, "For a minute there I was starting to believe in the system."

Meanwhile, the amended AB 125 was approved in the California Senate and sent to Governor George Deukmejian. To some suprise, and for reasons unrelated to the Sinkyone, it was vetoed early in October. The veto brought a feeling of relief. EPIC had filed suit September 30, citing failure to take into account the cumulative impacts of the several disturbances taken together and over time, as mandated by state and federal environmental laws. In addition, there was the matter of archaeological disturbances. In this they were joined by the International Indian Treaty Council, which has observer status at the United Nations. More plaintiffs might join, and now, with AB 125 dead and no friend to blame, perhaps the environmentalist camp could be coaxed back into solidarity. "Earth First!" people were on hand organizing for the confrontation no one wanted, but if Georgia-Pacific held off until the official close of summer operations on October 15, there might be time for other approaches in the courts or legislature.

Somehow word of the suit leaked to a Santa Rosa television station and was broadcast on Wednesday October 5. Georgia-Pacific sent in its loggers the following day, later claiming it as coincidence. EPIC was alerted and spread the alarm by telephone, radio and messengers on the back roads. The Garberville theater's marquee read, "Georgia-Pacific cutting Sally Bell. Call EPIC." "Earth First!"er Mike Roselle alerted his ten-person affinity group and started for the grove. Sutherland and others in the phone network worked to convince the media that a story was happening. Later that night, he was able to say that 50 people had left their homes to hike down steep ridges in the dark to then stand in front of loggers with chainsaws and maybe go to jail; some of the media began to believe it.

At seven the next morning Georgia-Pacific's loggers were startled to find the grove occupied by protesters. The company men were unprepared. Their supervisor was summoned by radio, as was the sheriff. Around noon a crew from KVIQ television in Eureka, 100 miles to the north, arrived at the locked gate where Georgia-Pacific's haul road joins the Usal. The security guard assured them there was no trouble, and they had driven some of the worst roads in the state for nothing. Shortly, seven cars from the Mendocino sheriff's department arrived and the gate opened; the crew followed them in and taped some very unusual proceedings. The sheriff's men realized they were outnumbered and unprepared to deal with the situation. What ensued was a negotiation in the manner of the peace movement. Representatives of the blockaders, sheriffs and loggers were required to sit in a circle, hands joined. That was too much for the loggers; though the sheriffs went along. Eventually they reached agreement on no arrests and no tree-cutting until the next Monday. The same afternoon in Santa Rosa Judge William Bettinelli issued a restraining order stopping the logging until Monday; this was extended until the hearing on October 20.

The blockade had a remarkable effect on relations within the environmental movement. When the local Sierra Club chapter's executive committee met on October 15, Sutherland and Mulvaney of EPIC presented their views of the situation. Instead of rancorous debate, they found solid support, friendliness, and a resolution to join the suit if the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund concurred. (SCLDF subsequently joined the suit.) Even important environmental moderates and conservatives voiced encouragement.

The first legal motion during the October 20 hearing was Georgia-Pacific's request for a change of venue to Ukiah, closer to their mill and with a judicial landscape more to their liking. This was granted the following day, closing the proceedings in that court. In a breathtaking feat of legalism, Georgia-Pacific's lawyers advised the company that a change of venue voided the restraining order. Georgia-Pacific ordered its loggers back to render all questions moot so far as the Sally Bell Grove was concerned. This time all parties to the blockade were ready, and there were no circles on the ground., Protester Mary Hill, 43, was struck by a falling tree and taken to the hospital, which did not halt the cutting. By the time a new restraining order was obtained, two days of protests had sent 12 people to jail with numerous citations handed out. Judge R. Brian Jamar told the *Santa Rosa Press-Democrat*, "As far as I'm concerned it's still in effect. I never considered the issue of the restraining order."

At this writing, the environmentalists who have spent many years working for the Sinkyone are united behind the lawsuit. No one is in jail at the moment, and most of the Sally Bell Grove still stands. Lon Mulvaney has said that the Sinkyone is wilderness for the future. The question everywhere is whether we can collectively resolve to have the wilderness that remains here represent a token of that future.

DAVID CROSS is a writer, photographer and environmental activist based in Berkeley, California.

The rugged landscape was no match for Georgia-Pacific *Photo by David J. Cross*

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THE MOB IS PHILADELPHIA

By Murray Waas

In the City of Brotherly Love, it's hard to tell the Mafia from the cops.

The body of Frank (Chickie) Narducci lay in the gutter of a South Philadelphia street in a pool of blood. He was the eleventh person killed in the bloodiest mob war in recent American history. Since Narducci's murder, on January 7, 1982, five other Philadelphia organized crime figures have been murdered gangland style.

He was shot 10 times, 9 bullets ripping apart his face, back, wrist, and chest as he opened the door of his Cadillac Seville.

Although a priest administered last rights for Narducci at the scene of the murder, the Archdiocese of Philadelphia denied him a Catholic funeral at the Maris Roman Catholic Church, which he had been a member of for more than 12 years. It did not matter to the church that Narducci had murdered other men or once worked as a loanshark. What concerned the church, according to Philadelphia Archdiocesan spokesman James Coyne, was that "in the eyes of the church, they (Narducci and his wife) weren't really married. Basically, all that means is that he and his wife were never married by a priest with two witnesses (present), which is a requirement for making a marriage valid in the Catholic Church. The Church doesn't have any record of it."

Earlier during the day of his murder, Narducci had appeared in federal court where he was on trial on charges of loansharking, mail fraud, wire fraud and operating four illegal gambling establishments.

At the time of his murder, Narducci was the third most powerful member, or Consigliere, of Philadelphia's Bruno mafia family. He had been arrested some 55 times since 1949. Nine times he had been convicted of major felonies. His most recent conviction was for bribing two undercover Philadelphia policemen to look the other way regarding one of his gambling operations. At the time of the trial, Louis Pichini, an attorney with the federal organized crime strike force in Philadelphia, said Narducci "was the kingpin of an operation intended to build a payoff network within the Philadelphia Police Department."

The Philadelphia mob family was once one of the most powerful mafia families in America. But that all began to come to an end on May 21, 1980. On that day, Angelo Bruno, the Boss of the Philadelphia mob family for more than 20 years, parked his car in front of his modest row home on 934 Snyder Avenue in South Philadelphia. Without warning, two men approached Bruno from behind and gunned him to death. When police arrived, they found Bruno's body slumped on the front seat of the new red Chevrolet sedan, his head tilted back, blood pouring profusely from a huge gaping wound behind his right ear.

With Bruno's death came the end of his 23-year chairmanship of Philadelphia's mob family. He had held that position since shortly after the now infamous Apalachin conference in upstate New York, in November, 1957.

Angelo Bruno, however, was intelligent enough not to attend the Appalachin conference: "You hit Miami with 30 Cadillacs and nobody's going to say anything, you understand?," Bruno reportedly told an associate at the time, "You hit a little town in upstate New York with 30 Cadillacs and you're asking for it, you understand?"

Bruno would engage in a brief struggle with Antonio (Mr. Milo) Pollina, a convicted murderer and veteran loanshark for control of Philadelphia's mob family. In the end, Bruno would triumph, becoming one of the longest reigning crime bosses in America.

After Bruno's brutal murder, 16 more assassinations of Philadelphia mobsters would occur:

On April 18, 1980, the body of Antonio "Tony Bananas" Caponigro, Angelo Bruno's one time consigliere, was found in the trunk of a car in a vacant parking lot on Staten Island, New York. A coroner's report later related that Caponigro was shot 13 times, brutally tortured, and stabbed.

The very same day, the body of Alfred Salerno, Caponigro's brother in law, and in his own right a longtime powerful member of the Bruno mob family, was found about a mile away from Caponigro's. The murderers had placed Salerno's body in a mortician's bag.

A month later, on September 19, 1980, the body of John "Johnny Keyes" Simone, Bruno's cousin and one of his top aides, was found in a wooded area near the Staten Island expressway. He had methodically been shot once behind the left ear.

On October 30, 1980, the body of Frank Sindone, Angelo Bruno's chief loanshark, was found in an alley near the rear of the G. C. Murphy and Co. Five and Ten in South Philadelphia. Sindone had been shot three times in the side and back of his head from two handguns of different calibers. His hands had been bound with clothepins. A trash bag was pulled over the torso and upper half of his body. A second one covered the lower half.

On March 15, 1981, a bomb hidden under the porch of the house of Philip Testa, who succeeded Angelo Bruno as boss of Philadelphia's mob family, exploded. Testa died almost instantly.

On January 7, 1982, Frank (Chickie) Narducci, the subject of this story was murdered. "There aren't many more (mobsters) left," said Philadelphia police detective Michael Chitwood at the sight of the murder, "It seems the idea is to clean out organized crime in Philadelphia. Soon, organized crime will be a thing of the past in Philadelphia."

Two days after Narducci's murder, a message was flashed across television screens in Atlantic City, New Jersey: "Nicky and Phil, You're Next." Nicky apparently was referring to Nicodermo (Little Nicky) Scarfo, believed by many law enforcement officials to have succeeded Bruno and Testa as Philadelphia's mob boss. Phil apparently referred to Philip (Crazy Phil) Leonetti, Scarfo's nephew and also an organized crime figure. Investigators still have not determined who had the technical skills and daring to invade a cable television studio, insert the death threat into a community billboard program, and escape undetected. Scarfo and Leonetti remain unharmed—for now.

On February 26, 1982, police found the body of Dominic "Mickey Diamond" DeVito in the trunk of his Cadillac. He was shot once in the back of his head, his hands were bound with brown twine, and his

body was placed inside two plastic bags. DeVito was one of Frank Narducci's closest friends, the two men living only one block away from each other.

The most recent Philadelphia mob murder occurred on March 16, 1982. Police found the body of Rocco Marinucci, with multiple gunshot wounds of the face, chest, and neck, in a South Philadelphia alleyway. The body was partially stuffed inside a dark green plastic trash bag, and covered by a brown and white floral bedspread and brown carpet. Stuffed in Marinucci's mouth and throat were firecrackers and explosives.

Marinucci's murder came exactly one year to the day that a bomb exploded underneath Philip Testa's porch, killing Angelo Bruno's successor as Philadelphia's mob boss. Police theorized that Marinucci's killing was in retaliation for the Testa murder and that Marinucci was possibly one of those involved.

Federal organized crime investigators say that Philadelphia's mob murders are due to two reasons. First, there was an internal struggle within the Bruno crime family. Some members of the family were upset that Bruno refused to allow his associates to sell heroin or that he would not give a larger share of the profits to lower ranking members of the family. Another faction of the family sided with Bruno, their boss of more than 20 years.

At about the same time, casino gambling was legalized in Atlantic City, only 90 miles from Philadelphia.

"There's hundreds of millions of dollars to be made from organized crime in Atlantic City, says one federal law enforcement official, "And the New York (mob) families weren't real enthusiastic about having to share it with Bruno." Angelo Bruno had originally agreed to split the proceeds of newly lucrative Atlantic City territory with the New York, Genovese and Gambino crime families. After the Bruno family began to kill each other in its own internal war, federal investigators have theorized, the New York families decided to help the killing along. With a weakened Bruno family, or even better, an almost nonexistent one, the New York families wouldn't have to share profits from Atlantic City with Philadelphia mobsters. The strategy has apparently worked. "There isn't much of a Philadelphia mob anymore," says one long time organized crime observer, "and what there is left is for the most part just a subsidiary of the New York families."

There are fewer victims now in Philadelphia that the mob is not so powerful. There are fewer innocent people murdered, fewer loanshark victims, fewer children victimized by child pornography, fewer arsons, fewer lives destroyed.

As for the mobsters killing each other off, Jill Porter, spoke not only for herself but for a substantial number of other Philadelphians when she wrote in the *Philadelphia Daily News*: "They live by different rules from the rest of us. They want to kill themselves? Fine. Who cares?"

But Larry Fields, also a columnist for the *Philadelphia Daily News* had a different attitude. He was most upset that they had killed his good friend, Frank (Chickie) Narducci. "Since When is Loving Life a Crime?" was the headline of Fields' column the day after Narducci was murdered.

"How I knew Chickie Narducci was not as a thug, a refugee from *The Godfather* or anything else that you might think about a guy who ran gambling operations for Angelo Bruno," wrote Fields, "The Chickie Narducci I knew was funny, generous, friendly, loved gambling, whiskey and women; and how could I argue with that? I never figured gambling to be any big sin, and as for the other two 'vices', when put together they make for fascinating conversation. And other things . . ."

Few other journalists were as effusive in their praise of Frank Narducci as Larry Fields. After all, it's not the easiest thing in the world to find nice things to say about a convicted murderer and loanshark.

But Angelo Bruno, to some extent, was also portrayed favorably in Philadelphia's press. Reported the *Philadelphia Inquirer* after Bruno's death: "Sources said that long ago Bruno had determined that his crime family would stay out of such 'dirty' but lucrative fields such as pornography and drugs—fields that some of his associates wanted to enter . . . Bruno has been characterized as one of the old, conservative mafia 'men of respect,' a man who dealt with problems through 'sitdowns' or meetings, and peace-table conciliations."

While the press in Philadelphia has provided such favorable impressions of its mob families, other parts of the community have also done their part in the effort.

"I knew Mr. Bruno as a good neighbor," said Judge Lisa Richette, a nationally prominent childrens' rights advocate, at Angelo Bruno's funeral, "There are all neighborhood people here, and not one will say a bad word. They are all charitable."

At the scene of Frank (Chickie) Narducci's murder, similar attitudes prevailed. It soon became apparent to many policemen there that the crowd seemed to be expressing hostility to *them*, and not the mobsters who were using their streets as a dangerous battleground. The same night of the murder, several Philadelphians called local talk shows to talk about what a generous and humane man Frank Narducci was. They also expressed outrage about what they considered unfair persecution by Narducci by government investigators and some segments of the press.

The Philadelphia Daily News, the same newspaper that printed Larry Fields' kind comments about Frank Narducci, has published several investigative articles about the mob and labor racketeering in the Philadelphia area. Mary Joe Meisner, the city editor at the *Daily News*, is a much respected former labor and organized crime reporter. *The Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, before they went out of business, provided excellent coverage of organized crime. And Mike Mallowe of *Philadelphia Magazine* is not only one of the best magazine writers in the country but also a fine investigative reporter. Says one local organized crime investigator about Mallowe: "For the most part, he has a better undertanding of the mafia and how it works than any other reporter I know of."

But that same investigator says that "a lot of people have some strange ideas about the mafia in this city. They think that Angelo Bruno was a good, compassionate man. They think that there is some kind of unique honor among these people. That mobsters only kill other mobsters or other people who are dishonest with them or cross them. Or that these guys only rob from the rich and give some of what they get to the poor. These things simply aren't true. And part of the reason they are believed is because of the press coverage they receive."

Like the rest of big business in America, the mafia has realized that it has to engage in good public relations to be accepted in their communities, to expand, and grow. When Frank (Chickie) Narducci paid a $10,000 mortgage for an old woman in his neighborhood (if Larry Fields' story is true), he is acting no differently from an oil company that gouges the consumer and then makes charitable grants to public television and metropolitan operas. The only difference is that it is not routine policy for oil companies and other corporations to routinely kill people as a normal course of everyday business.

In part, the story of Frank (Chickie) Narducci and the Bruno mob family is the story of corrupt public officials and law enforcement officers who have either been bought off or compromised by the mafia. Without them, the Philadelphia mob would not have been able to thrive for so many years.

And the story of Philadelphia's mob family is not that different from the way the mafia operates in the rest of the country. A federal task force on organized crime, for example, found: "The primary goals of organized crime . . . are the maximization of profit. In order to achieve the greatest possible return, organized crime has found it expedient to invest some of its capital in the government."

The story of Frank Narducci and the Bruno crime family is not unlike that of other mafia families across America: They are able to thrive and operate thanks to corrupt politicians and law enforcement officials. They are accepted in their communities because of public apathy caused by shrewd public relations and misplaced journalism.

If Larry Fields had examined court records, talked to FBI agents, looked at police reports—or even read the clipping files in the library of his own newspaper—he would have found that there is more to "Chickie" Narducci than someone who

was "funny, generous, friendly, loved whiskey, and women." And one by one, the myths that the mob has created for itself and which are perpetrated by journalists like Field would be deflated.

Myth: The mafia only perpetrates victimless crimes. The only people who are hurt or killed by the mafia's activities are mobsters or people who solicit the mafia to do business with them.

On May 21, 1961, Frank (Chickie) Narducci, then only a young, up and coming member of Philadelphia's mob family, was arrested for stealing appliances from a small neighborhood South Philadelphia furniture store. According to police reports, after responding to an anonymous phone call, police went to the furniture store of Philip Shapiro of South Philadelphia to investigate a disturbance. When they arrived at the scene, they found the display window of the store broken. Two blocks away, they arrested Narducci, who was caught carrying electric toasters and irons in both his arms.

Myth: Members of the Mafia only kill other mobsters or those they do business with who have crossed them in some way.

On June 7, 1959, Frank Narducci murdered Theodore Romolini outside of a South Philadelphia bar, shooting him at close range with a .32 caliber revolver. Romolini, who had no connection to organized crime, had argued with Narducci inside the bar about using profanity with a woman present.

More than 20 years later, Carmella Romolini, was reluctant to talk about her father's murder. Now 35 years old, she lives with her mother in a South Philadelphia rowhouse only blocks away from where she grew up. She currently works as a computer programmer and is divorced.

As we talked, her young daughter, Tracy, not much younger than her mother was when her father was shot, played in the living room with the family's dog.

"I really don't want to talk about it," says Carmella Romolini, "I try not to think about it too much. It was just my father's time to go, I guess. That's all. God decided what happened.

"I know hardly anything about Narducci. A lot of the things you're telling me, I'm learning for the first time. I don't know what type of person he was. I never met him.

"Maybe Narducci wasn't that bad of a guy. I don't know what happened that night (the night her father was killed). Nobody does. All you can really go on is what other people tell you.

"The people in the neighborhood here always talked well of Narducci. He was respected, well liked."

Indeed, most people interviewed in Carmella Romolini's neighborhood *did* have only nice things to say about Frank (Chickie) Narducci and his late boss Angelo Bruno.

The reality of the situation, however, is largely different. As Philadelphia's mob boss, all gangland hits in the Philadelphia area were allowed to be carried out on his orders. And information obtained by federal authorities through informants and wiretaps show that Angelo Bruno was a ruthless and cold blooded murderer. Contrary to the public image, Bruno also approved killings of people who were not connected to the mafia.

For example, he approved the murder of a Teamster dissident, who was doing little more than fighting a corrupt Union boss, backed by Bruno, so that he and his fellow workers would be able to obtain the benefits that were due them. In another instance, Michael Morrone, one of Bruno's top lieutenants, told associates that he was going to kill a New Jersey state trooper who had arrested him. Morrone would not have been able to make such plans without Bruno's approval.

The way in which Angelo Bruno decided to kill people was once described to federal authorities by Charles Allen, a former mob hitman turned federal informant. At a meeting called to discuss the proposed killing of one of their associates, Bruno told the hitman to hold off for a while. The reason was that the intended victim still owed a loansharking debt to the family. After the debt was paid, Angelo Bruno made his decisions to kill people with his only consideration being whether the taking of the life would help or hurt his business. When he decided to kill somebody, it was simply done to maximize profits.

Myth: Although members of the mafia engage in illegal activities, they often use the proceeds they obtain from them to help disadvantaged and poor people. In some instances, they are like modern day Robin

Frank "Chickie" Narducci was gunned down in his own front yard Photo by UPI

Hoods, stealing from the wealthy and giving to the poor.

In early 1976, Pamela Price was a 16-year-old girl from Philadelphia, partially paralyzed from cerebral palsy. Doctors believed that a series of expensive operations might help Pamela to some extent. But the operations would be expensive, estimated to cost between $25,000 and $70,000. And the Price family was not well off; Pamela's father, who was once a paperhanger, was unable to work anymore after suffering seven heart attacks. Pamela's mother, Delores, who had long suffered with bouts of mental illness spent most of her waking hours caring for her daughter.

In December 1975 came the first hope for the Price family. Delores Price met Carol Grudzinski, a fundraiser for a Philadelphia charitable organization, the Future of Philadelphia. Grudzinski told Delores Price that the organization would hold a series of "Monte Carlo" nights at a South Philadelphia catering hall to raise money for Pamela's operations. The "Monte Carlo" nights were held, and from the more than two dozen blackjack tables, dice games, poker tables, craps tables, and a roulette wheel, an estimated $150,000 was raised.

But unknown to Delores Price at the time, Philadelphia's District Attorney would later arrest Carol Grudzinski and charge that the Future of Philadelphia was in fact "a front for gambling activity . . . no funds were used for charitable purposes, in particular for handicapped children." Also charged was the late Ernest (Smashie) Distephani, Grudzinski's partner in the Future of Philadelphia venture, and according to an FBI affidavit, a close associate of Bruno crime family members. Subsequent testimony in Grudzinski's and Distephani's trial revealed that Mario (Sonny) Riccobene, a high level Bruno family member, had bankrolled the gambling operation. Frank (Chickie) Narducci was also present at the Monte Carlo nights that were supposedly held to help Pamela Price, but he was not charged with a crime.

When Pamela Price never received any of the money raised by the Future of Philadelphia and its mob associates, Delores Price, Pamela's mother, became distraught. She was upet that she would not be able to pay an $8,000 hospital bill, that she had been told would be taken care of by the Future of Philadelphia.

But when she realized that the Future of Philadelphia was nothing more than a sophisticated case of charity fraud, she believed she would never be able to pay her bills and her daughter would never have the necessary operations. Over a period of time, Pamela's condition worsened. And Delores Price began to think that her friends and relatives believed that she was involved in the embezzlement and theft of the charity funds that had been ostensibly raised to help her ill daughter.

On June 13, 1976, Delores Price ran the water in the bathtub of her South Philadelphia rowhouse. Nobody else was home. She committed suicide by methodically slitting her wrists with a straight razor. Delores Price died without learning that a New York hospital had agreed to perform the necessary operations for her daughter free of cost.

Myth: Although violence is part of the daily lives of all men in the mafia, they are still good family men. They have a special type of reverence and respect for women and children.

In November, 1963, Frank Narducci and four other Philadelphia mob figures were arrested for beating up two brothers who were unable to pay a loansharking debt. The young police inspector who made the bust was named Frank Rizzo. The two brothers were afraid to file a complaint against Narducci and the other attackers. And Narducci and the others would beat the rap. But the stars of Frank (Chickie) Narducci and Frank Rizzo were rising ones over the next several years. Narducci would someday become the number three man, or Consigliere, in the Bruno Crime family. And Frank Rizzo would become Philadelphia's police commissioner and then be elected Mayor of Philadelphia on two occasions on a tough law and order platform. But somehow over the years, despite his anti-crime rhetoric and one time arrest of Frank Narducci, Frank Rizzo's attitude towards organized crime began to mellow. Perhaps it was when he realized how well entrenched the mob was within Philadelphia's city government and that an energetic up and comer like himself had to look the other way to advance his career. Or perhaps it was when he realized that some of the same people who ran Philadelphia's mob family also controlled vast portions of Philadelphia's city government.

From court records, confidential law en-

forcement intelligence reports, and interviews, we have been able to identify many of those public officials. Almost all of them have been close associates of Frank Rizzo.

According to a highly confidential intelligence report of the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, Dominik J. Colomiso, who served as treasurer of Philadelphia's Democratic City Committee from 1977 to 1980, has had close ties to organized crime figures. Says the report: "Dominick owned Colosimo's Firearms Store and was treasurer of (then) Mayor Frank Rizzo's campaign. Colosimo has been under investigation by ATF for firearms violations and is alleged to have been selling firearms illegally. He is also alleged to have incurred substantial gambling debts and took money from the business in an effort to cover them. He is further alleged to have planned an arson of his business through Ralph Natale in order to cover discrepencies in his records. (Colosimo apparently changed his mind about having the arson done.)" According to law enforcement officials, Ralph Natale is a "capo" in the Bruno crime family and is currently serving two lengthy prison sentences after being convicted in separate trials of being the kingpin of an arson-for-hire scheme and selling more than $900,000 in Quaaludes and cocaine to undercover agents. According to law enforcement officials, the late John Scially, was a high level member of the Bruno mob family. In their last annual report, the Pennsylvania Crime Commission reported that Scially was one of three men "found guilty in 1970 of trying to sell a $500,000 United States Treasury Bond, which had been stolen from the Wall Street brokerage house of Wertheim and Company." Scially was sentenced to five years probtion for his role in the scheme.

But that did not stop Scially from becoming a partner in a firm called G&S Co., Inc. with James Colosimo, the brother of longtime Philadelphia Democratic City Chairman, Dominic Colosimo, and Tom Gola, who served as Philadelphia's city controller.

Before becoming Philadelphia's Democratic City Committee's patronage boss, John Sills was a partner in a bailbond agency with Albert Schwartz, whom the Pennsylvania Crime Commission has described as "a business associate of Angelo Bruno."

In May, 1972, Sills was indicted on charges of being a key member of a ring that was smuggling millions of dollars of untaxed cigarettes into Pennsylvania. One reason that the cigarette smuggling ring was so successful was that Sills had used his position as patronage boss to have an associate in the smuggling ring, Rocco Frumento, appointed as a state cigarette agent. Then, according to a special grand jury presentment, "numerous honest state cigarette agents were fired purely at the demand of Frumento and Sills." Frumento was later murdered gangland style by mob associates.

At Sills' trial, his power in holding the position of Philadelphia's Democratic Party's Patronage Boss helped bring about his acquittal: Court records show that among those who appeared as character witnesses on his behalf included two U.S. Congressmen, two Pennsylvania State Senators, four Philadelphia City Councilmen, and 14 judges.

But the one person most responsible for Sills' acquittal may have been Pennsylvania State Supreme Court Justice Robert N.C. Nix, a close friend and political associate of Sills. (Sills had one of his patronage employees serve for a time as Nix's private chauffeur.) Because of Nix's intervention, Sills' trial was switched from the courtroom of a harsh, law and order judge to that of the courtroom of a more sympathetic judge, Calvin T. Wilson. Judge Wilson had been appointed to his position as judge by the Philadelphia Democratic City Committee at a time when Sills was the committee's patronage boss. Wilson's only readily apparent qualification to be appointed to the bench was the fact that he had held three other previous jobs awarded to him by Philadelphia's Democratic City Committee. F. Emett Fitzpatrick, who served as Philadelphia's District Attorney for four years, took the 5th amendment when called to testify before a federal grand jury investigating the activities of Harry Brown, a loanshark working for Philadelphia's mob family. Brown had told the FBI that Fitzpatrick had loaned him $10,000 after being arrested on charges of staging a phony burglary at a Philadelphia auto dealership.

Fitzpatrick is currently one of Philadelphia's most respected and highest paid defense attorneys. Among his client list are more than a half dozen of Pennsylvania's most powerful organized crime figures.

Angelo Bruno's death paved the way to Narducci's power Photo by UPI

When Frank Rizzo wanted to run for Mayor of Philadelphia for a third term in 1979, Philadelphia's city charter only allowed an individual to serve for two. Associates of Rizzo's set up the Citizens Congress for a Modern Charter which raised funds for an effort to change the charter to allow an individual to run for three mayoralty terms. The key fundraiser for the Citizens Congress was Alfred E. Smith O'Neil, who reliable law enforcement sources say is a business associate of upstate mob boss Russell Buffalino and Frank Sheeran, a mob connected Teamsters Union official who is one of the FBI's chief suspects in the disappearance of the late Jimmy Hoffa.

Smashie Distephani, mentioned earlier in this article as one of the persons involved in the Future of Philadelphia charity fraud scheme, was a longtime business associate of Frank Narducci and other members of the Bruno crime family.

But that did not stop the Rizzo administration in 1972 from awarding a three year contract to Distephani to dispose of the city's abandoned cars. In May, 1974, the city procurement department renegotiated Distephani's contract without bidding for three additional years. The extended contract was signed by Distephani on May 22, 1974. On the day before, May 21, 1974, Distephani pleaded guilty in a New Jersey courtroom of 25 counts of receiving stolen motor vehicles, altering auto serial numbers, and conspiracy to receive and possess stolen vehicles. One of the charges he pleaded guilty to was that he provided a counterfeited title and license to an associate for a 1972 Buick stolen from the Philadelphia Police Department.

Not only have Philadelphia mobsters paid off and had business dealings with powerful Philadelphia politicians, but on one occasion, there is a substantial amount of evidence that Frank (Chickie) Narducci played a key role in the selection of one of Philadelphia's judges. One day in February, 1979, Rep. Michael (Ozzie) Myers held a secret meeting in South Philadelphia with Frank (Chickie) Narducci. At the time, Myers was South Philadelphia's congressman. But he would later be the first man in more than a century to be expelled from the House of Representatives after being convicted of receiving $50,000 of bribes from undercover FBI agents in that agency's ABSCAM operation. "I'm gonna tell you something real simple and short," Myers told one of the FBI agents, "Money talks in this business and bullshit walks. And it works the same way in Washington." Besides his Abscam conviction, Myers had also been involved in a kickback scheme related to the renting of one of his Congressional offices and placing ghost employees on the payroll of the Pennsylvania State Senate.

On the same day in February, 1979, that Myers met with Narducci, he would later attend a meeting of Philadelphia's Democratic City Committee which would accept Myers' recommendation then that they endorse the candidacy of a friend of his, Mitchell Lipschutz, in a bid to obtain a municipal court judgeship.

While Myers was outspoken in his support for Lipschutz at the Democratic City Committee meeting, he was secretive when asked about his meeting the same day with Narducci. "We just talked about some things in the neighborhood. That's all," he told a former aide who asked him about the meeting.

Lipschutz, who at one time served as Myers' personal attorney, had associated with and has had business dealing with organized crime figures for close to two decades. At one point, Lipschutz was a co-owner with two underworld figures of a restaurant described by law enforcement officials as a "Cosa Nostra hangout." A frequent customer was Frank (Chickie) Narducci.

An examination of the relationships between Myers, Narducci, and Lipschutz over a period of years raises some disturbing questions about Myers' two meetings in February, 1979:

In the 1960's, Lipschutz was a co-owner of Dante's restaurant in Philadelphia along with two underworld figures. Among the regular visitors seen coming to the restaurant by law enforcement officials were the late Angelo Bruno and Frank Narducci.

After two persons were murdered at Dante's Restaurant in 1964, Narducci was a prime suspect in the murders until Jack Lopinson, a co-owner of the restaurant with Lipschutz was indicted and convicted for the murders. Lipschutz refused to answer questions from the police about what happened for more than a month after the murders occurred.

In 1968, Lipschutz was indicted for hiring two underworld figures with the ties to

Narducci's mob family to kill his wife. Lipschutz was later acquitted of the charges.

On January 16, 1979, police in Arlington, Va. put out a warrant of arrest for then Representative Myers. The congressman had been charged with assault and battery after allegedly being one of several persons who beat up a 19-year-old girl. The first lawyer that Myers called at the time was Mitchell Lipschutz.

In February, 1979, Myers held his secret meeting in South Philadelphia with Frank (Chickie) Narducci. Later that very same day, Myers met with the Philadelphia Democratic City Committee to urge them to endorse Lipschutz in his bid to become a municipal court judge.

On March 30, 1979, the Philadelphia Democratic City Committee endorsed Lipschutz in his election bid. One member of the city committee would later tell me: "Without it, the endorsement, there is next to no chance of winning an election for a judgeship."

Lipschutz won the election easily despite previously being rated "unqualified" by the Philadelphia Bar Association. He is currently serving as a judge.

On January 24, 1980, Myers boasted about his close relationship with Frank (Chickie) Narducci, during a meeting with undercover FBI agents during that agency's ABSCAM operation.

Mitchell Lipschutz's ties with organized crime figures date back to the early 1960's when he became a partner of Dante's Restaurant in Philadelphia with underworld figure Jack Lopinson. Law enforcement sources at the time said that Dante's was a "Cosa Nostra hangout." Among those observed as being frequent customers were Angelo Bruno; Felix DeTuillo, then his chief loanshark; and Frank Narducci.

On June 19, 1963, Lopinson's wife, Judy, and Joseph (Joey Flowers) Malito, another co-owner of Dante's, were killed in a gangland style murder at the restaurant. Lopinson was later convicted of paying another underworld figure, Frank (the Hatchet) Pelham more than $10,000 for carrying out the murders of his wife and business partner.

Lipschutz was also a co-owner in the 1960's of another Philadelphia restaurant with underworld figure Sidney Brooks. The restaurant, the Prime Rib, burned to the ground in a mysteriously set fire on Christmas day, 1963.

George Frank Bricker, a career burglar with ties to Philadelphia's mafia, later confessed to police that Lipschutz had paid him to burn down the restaurant as part of an insurance fraud scheme. One law enforcement official described Bricker during an interview as "the most habitual criminal I've come across during my entire career." Bricker has admitted to committing more than a hundred crimes.

Bricker also claimed in his sworn confession to police that Lipschutz had paid him $1,000 and provided him with free legal services in exchange for his promise to murder Lipschutz's wife. Bricker quoted Lipschutz as telling him that he wanted his wife murdered because her "department store bills were killing him."

As a result of Bricker's confession that he was planning to kill her while passing himself off a an IRS agent, Lipschutz was indicted on solicitation-for-murder charges in April, 1968.

"Before I had a chance to carry out the plan," Bricker testified, "I discovered there was someone else with her at the time. Another woman. So I returned to Mitch's office and told him what took place."

Gloria Lipschutz also testified and partially corroborated Bricker's story. She said that a man identifying himself as an IRS agent came to her house while a friend was visiting. She said she called the local IRS office and learned that none of their agents had been dispatched to her home. But she was unable to positively identify Bricker as the man who came to her door.

The prosecution also charged that when Bricker's murder plot failed, Lipschutz simply came up with another plan. Corroborating their claim was Sidney Brooks, an underworld figure and business partner of Lipschutz. Brooks testified that Lipschutz paid him $5,000 to arrange the murder of his wife, and that he in turn subcontracted the "hit" to an associate.

The attempted "hit" was unsuccessful, Brooks testified, despite the fact that his associate loosened the lugs of the wheels on Mrs. Lipschutz' car. "It's a shame that when the wheel came off, the car wasn't going at a greater rate of speed," Bricker testified Lipschutz told him. Gloria Lipschutz later testified that the wheel of her car did come off—while she was driving to an appearance in divorce court. Fortunately she was driving slowly, she testified, and was not hurt.

Lipschutz was acquitted by a jury on March 12, 1968, of the murder for hire charges. A related indictment for his alleged role in ordering the arson of his restaurant was also subsequently dismissed.

But, more than a dozen years later, on October 23, 1981, the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court censured Mitchell Lipschutz for judicial misconduct. The court ruled that Lipschutz "failed to conduct himself at all times in a manner that promotes public confidence in the integrity and impartiality of the judiciary."

The State Supreme Court was upset that Lipschutz unjustifiably jailed two woman attorneys for contempt of court. The court ruled that Lipschutz's behavior in the jailing of the two attorneys, Assistant Philadelphia District Attorney Rona Kaplan, and Assistant Public Defender, Jean Purnell, was "arrogant, rude, ill-tempered and demeaning" and reflected numerous violations of the canons of judicial conduct.

According to court transcripts, Lipschutz first became angry at Purnell because her client was tardy in getting to court. When Purnell attempted to explain to Lipschutz that her client was late because police stopped the streetcar he was on to arrest another passenger, the judge told her: "Ma'am, sit down, or I will have you removed. I have had enough of you. I'm telling you to shut up." Then Lipschutz fined Purnell for contempt of court.

Minutes later, Lipschutz ordered Purnell's client held in contempt of court also for arriving late. When Purnell advised her client to immediately pay a $50 fine so he would not have to go to jail, Lipschutz became enraged. "Take her into custody and to a cell immediately," Lipschutz ordered a court officer.

Court employees have also been the target of Lipschutz's wrath. But unlike lawyers and their clients, they have been in a position to get back at the judge. At one point, one employee put toothpaste on the bottom side of Lipschutz's judicial desk.

Even in Philadelphia—a city where a mobster like Frank (Chickie) Narducci apparently plays a role in who the city's judges will be—there is occasional justice.

Frank Narducci is no longer alive. But he has left a legacy to the city of Philadelphia in that Mitchell Lipschutz is still a municipal court judge.

As long as there are public officials willing to be bought off and accommodate organized crime, the mafia will flourish. Children will die of overdoses of heroin. Other children will become the victims of child pornography. And still others, like Pamela Price, will lose members of their families due to the mob's activities.

But the politicians are not the only ones to blame. Those in the media who have established a benign image of organized crime are also responsible.

Unfortunately, accurate reporting on organized crime is a rarity in American journalism. More mob reporting is based on hype and senationalism than on fact and truth.

And then of course, some journalists can be bought off by the mafia much the same way crooked politicians and law enforcement officials are. Apparently, though, some come cheaper than others.

"The first time I met him (Narducci) was about seven years ago in a South Philadelphia restaurant," wrote Larry Fields the day after Narducci was shot to death. "I was at a table with a group of people, and he came in with his own party. He sat down next to us, and somewhere along the way we were introduced. Chickie bought everyone drinks . . .

"The hours went by, and he and his party got up to leave. There was a capper: When I asked the waitress for my check that night, she said, 'Mr. Narducci already paid it.' Then I tried to tip her, but the doll waved me away. 'He paid that too,' she said." □

Murray Waas is a Philadelphia-based writer. He contributes to a number of national publications.

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Power Out: 30 mW per channel
Frequency Response: 330HZ-15KHZ
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